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1840.
336.

A

TREATISE

ON THE

DIFFERENT DEGREES

OF THE

CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD,

BY

HADRIAN SARAVIA.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

OXFORD,
JOHN HENRY PARKER.
MDCCCXL.

336.

BAXTER, PRINTER, OXFORD.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

"At his (Mr. Hooker's) entrance into this place, (Bishopsborne in Kent,) his friendship was much sought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia, then or about that time made one of the Prebends of Canterbury, a German by birth, and sometimes a Pastor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had studied and well considered the controverted points concerning Episcopacy and Sacrilege, and in England had a just occasion to declare his judgment concerning both, unto his brethren Ministers in the Low Countries; which was excepted against by Theodore Beza and

others; against whose exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the happy author of many learned Tracts, writ in Latin; especially of three; one of the Degrees of Ministers, and of the Bishops' Superiority above the Presbytery; a second against Sacrilege; and a third of Christian Obedience to Princes; the last being occasioned by Gretzerus the Jesuit. And it is observable, that when in a time of church-tumults, Beza gave his reasons to the Chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of Episcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a treatise of a threefold Episcopacy, (which he calls divine, human, and satanical,) this Dr. Saravia had by the help of Bishop Whitgift made such an early discovery of their intentions, that he had almost as soon answered that treatise as it became public, and he therein discovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of

Calvin and his adherents; leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of Episcopacy; but of these Tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his and the Church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the Archbishop, and printed about the time in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the world, in the publication of his first four Books of Ecclesiastical Polity[a]."

[a] The three Tracts came out earlier, 1590, and were printed in English 1591. In 1590 also Saravia was incorporated at Oxford, July 9, being before D.D. of the University of Leyden. (Wood, Fasti, subjoined to the Athen. Oxon. i. 252.) His preferments in England, after his return hither in 1587, were these, as far as appears. First, Master of the School at Southampton, in which he was much distinguished, Nich. Fuller the orientalist being one of his pupils, (Ath. Oxon. ii. 327,) and Sir Tho. Lake, Secretary of State to King James, (Chalmers, Biog. Dict.) Then Dr. Saravia was successively Prebendary of Gloucester, (ibid.) Canterbury, Dec. 6, 1595, (Le Neve, p. 16,) Westminster, July 5, 1601, (id. 371,) in the room of Bishop Andrews, and

"This friendship being sought for by this learned Doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him, as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment, in a controversy too like Dr. Saravia's; so that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Borne, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same: and their designs both for the

Rector of Great Chart in Kent, Feb. 24, 160$\frac{8}{9}$. (Clavi Trab. 148.) In 1607 he was nominated one of the translators of the Bible, his name appearing third, after those of Andrews and Overall, in the Westminster committee, to whom was assigned the Old Testament, from Genesis to the second Book of Kings. (Fuller, C. H. x. 45.) His Hebrew learning probably, as well as his great discretion, led the Archbishop to employ him in his communications with the "learned though morose" Hugh Broughton. Strype, Whitg. ii. 118. iii. 370. He died aged 82, Jan. 15, 161$\frac{8}{9}$. (Ath. Oxon. ubi sup.)

glory of God, and peace of the Church, still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety[b]."

The above extract from Walton's Life of Hooker, with the note subjoined, by leave of the Rev. the Professor of Poetry, from his recent edition of Hooker's Works, comprise all that the editor of the translation has been able to learn concerning the author of the original.

Walton proceeds to give an account of the progress of the friendship of these two holy men, informing us that Dr. Saravia attended his friend in his last moments. The fact of the intimacy he describes to have existed between them might of itself inspire the student with an interest in the sentiments of the less celebrated of the two on the subject of

[b] Walton's Life of Hooker, (Ed. Keble,) p. 93—97.

Church Polity, on which the other laboured with such ability his whole life long, especially as the sentiments of Hooker on the point particularly discussed in the following Tract have been called in question.

The Works of Dr. Saravia, which the learned Professor of Poetry has pronounced amply to deserve to be reedited, are become exceedingly scarce; so much so, that the Author of the present attempt, has not been able to procure a copy, nor has he met with any but the folio edition set forth by the Company of Stationers, London 1610 and 1611 [b]. The first edition of the three Tracts, of which the following is the first, appeared A. D. 1590 in 4to, but the translator has not met with it. The edition he has used bears the date 1610: and in it

[b] One copy in the Bodleian, another in the Library of Magd. Coll. and a third in that of Magd. Hall.

they are very carelessly printed, two entire lines being omitted in ch. xxv.[e] not to mention minor typographical errors. The rest of the volume is dated 1611. It was only after the present attempt had been placed in the publisher's hands that the author became aware of the existence in the Bodleian Library of a copy of Dr. Saravia's own English edition of the same, A.D. 1591. Being on the very eve of quitting England, he has not had time to compare his version with that original. It may appear presumptuous to put forth the present attempt after this discovery; but he hopes that he shall have deserved well of those who seek after the old paths, if he have done nothing more than draw attention to a forgotten, but, as he be-

[e] These are supplied in the translation from the reprint of the same, contained in Saravia's defence of the Tracts against Beza, contained in the same edition.

lieves, most valuable work. His departure from England at a short notice has prevented his adding, as he had intended to do, any other notes than the few brief remarks interspersed here and there, *currente calamo.* The Letter to the Ministers of Guernsey has been added from the Clavi Trabales, agreeably to the suggestion of Professor Keble, in note 52, to Walton's Life of Hooker.

A. W. S.

Pemb. Coll. Oxon.
Feb. 5, 1839.

A LETTER

OF

DR. HADRIAN SARAVIA,

TO THE

MINISTERS OF THE ISLE OF GUERNSEY.

(From Clavi Trabales.)

Grace and peace from Jesus Christ our Lord.

GENTLEMEN and well-beloved brethren in the Lord, my calling doth oblige me to procure the good and the true edification of the Churches of Christ Jesus, and chiefly of those which I have formerly had to do with as their Minister; such are those of the islands, where I was one of the first, and know what were the beginnings, and by

what means and occasions the preaching of God's word was planted there. But you hold now (to my thinking) a course quite contrary to that which we have held. All the favour we then obtained was through the Bishops' means, and without them I dare confidently assure you, that you will obtain nothing of what you look for. In the beginning there was no other reformation in the islands than that common throughout the whole kingdom of England. The Priests, who a little before had sung mass, became suddenly Protestants; but yet not one of them was appointed to preach the word of God. They were but ignorant persons, continuing still in heart and affection Papists, and enemies to the Gospel. Now such as were sincerely affected to the Gospel, prevailed so far as that they obtained Ministers, with whom the Priests could not agree: they retained their service, and the Ministers preached, and had the exercise of Religion asunder, following the order of the Churches of France. In these beginnings at the

pursuit of Mr. John After, Dean, I was sent by my Lords of the Council to the islands, as well in regard of the School that was newly erected, as to be a Minister there.

At that time the Bishop of Coutances was sent Ambassador from the French King to Queen Elizabeth, from whom and from her Council he obtained letters to the Governors of the islands, whereby they were enjoined to yield unto him all authority and right, which he pretended did belong unto him, as being the true Bishop of the islands. But how this blow was warded let your fathers tell you. Upon this occasion the Bishop of Winchester (as their true Bishop) took upon him the protection of the Churches of both islands, representing to the Queen, and unto her Council, that of old the islands did belong to his Bishopric, and that he had ancient records for it; yea, an Excommunication from the Pope against the Bishop of Coutances, whenever he would challenge any Episcopal jurisdiction over the islands. So through the means of the said Bishop, and

Mr. John After, Dean, two places only were privileged of my Lords of the Council, St. Peter-haven for Guernsey, and St. Helier for Jersey, with prohibition to innovate in ought in the other parishes. Then were the Court and Chapter of the Bishop held, which afterwards were suppressed, how, by whom, and by what authority, I know not: I fear the authors have run themselves into præmunires, (if præmunires have power within the islands.) The Consistories, Classes, and Synods of Ministers have succeeded them, yet without any Episcopal jurisdiction. Now so it is, that your islands want Episcopal Courts for proving of Wills, for Divorces, and Marriages, and for the Tythes, which are causes and actions ecclesiastical, and have so been these six hundred years and upwards, as well under the Dukes of Normandy, as the Kings of England. The reformation and change of Religion hath altered nothing; neither is there any one that hath power or authority to transfer the said causes to any other judges than to the Bishop, but the

King's Majesty: so that your civil magistrates have nothing to do with such causes; if they meddle with them, it is usurpation. The French Ministers are so rash as to say, that the Bishops of England have usurped this jurisdiction, and that it belongeth not unto them, because it is civil, making no difference between what some Bishops have heretofore usurped, and what the King and sovereign Magistrates have freely given, (for certain reasons moving them thereunto,) and conferred upon Bishops; therefore though the matter be civil, yet can they not be held for usurpers. Truly the present state and condition of the kingdom of England doth belie such slanderers of our Bishops. I fear that your magistrates, being seasoned with this doctrine, have carried themselves in this point more licentiously than the laws of this kingdom and of their islands will warrant them. I pass over the debates that might be made upon this matter, as a thing impertinent in the place and government under which we live. I consider the state of England and

that of the islands, and the dignity of Bishops, and the condition of the other Ministers of the Church, such as it is at this day. In Scotland for the time present the State hath otherwise provided, but not in England, and therefore ye ought not to take example by them, as though your state were like theirs. I hear that your Governor hath taken order about Wills, and appointed one to prove them. But I cannot conceive how that may be done without Episcopal jurisdiction conferred by the Bishop. Your Governor I know hath power to present to the Bishop a man proper to execute this authority of the Bishop in his name. Likewise the Governor, as patron of the churches and parishes of his government, upon the vacancy of any Living, ought to present by such a time a man well qualified to succeed in the office of a Pastor, but the admission and induction of such a charge belongs to your Bishop, and to nobody else. If I be well informed, you observe nothing of all this: which if it be so, you will never be able to justify it. The ex-

ample of the French Churches, and of the Low Countries, do you no good. Your case is quite another. They have laws from their sovereigns, and particular places for themselves; but all that you do is contrary to the laws and ordinance of the King your sovereign. You hold Synodical meetings, wherein you make Statutes about the government of the Church, unto which you bind yourselves and the rest that are natural subjects to the King; wherein you (insensibly) derogate from his authority. The Synods of the Archbishops and Bishops, together with the rest of the Clergy of this realm, dare not presume that which you do, nor attribute to their Canons and Statutes what you attribute to yours. Yet the Assembly of Bishops and of their Clergy is of men far otherwise qualified than some dozens of the Ministers of your islands to judge and discern what belongs to the edification of the Church; their decrees nevertheless are of no authority to tie unto them those of this realm, till the King, yea in his own person, have approved

them, and by proclamation made them his. There is nobody in his realm, nor in any of his dominions, that hath power to enact laws and decrees but himself. The Parliament's authority is great, but without the King's assent nothing takes the vigour of law. I know very well, that at the persuasion of the Ministers, your Governors, and others that were present to your Synods, have subscribed and acknowledged your Synodical acts; they did it even in my time: but their power doth not stretch so far. That may bring a greater prejudice to themselves, than give force of ecclesiastical law to your decrees. I do not think that his Majesty, being well informed, will grant unto your Ministers or Governors of your islands such authority: they will be more pernicious to you than you think. You will allege me, I know, your privileges; but I dare boldly answer you, that you never had any such privileges: I have read them, and have the copies of them; and they say, that in matters civil you shall be governed by the ancient *Coustumier* of Normandy, and

that you are not subject to the Statutes of the Parliament in such matters, nor to the subsidies, other charges, and impositions that are raised in England, except (which God forbid ever should come to pass) the King were detained prisoner by the enemy. In matters ecclesiastical you are freed from the Bishop of Coutances, and under that of Winchester, yea even of old by the Pope's authority and consent of the two Kings, from whom also in part, your neutrality in times of war is approved, excommunicating all such as would molest you. Ye cannot shew concerning your privileges, but only what is renewed as often as there is a new King. And for the Patent which you say you have procured from his Majesty for matters of Religion; first, it is in general terms, and without any clause derogating from the authority of your Bishops. Secondly, if it be questioned it may be told you, that it was surreptitious, and granted you before the King was well informed of the business. To conclude; you must understand, that

in matters of Religion the King's Majesty will do nothing without the counsel and advice of the Archbishop and your Bishop of Winchester; wherefore you may do well to insinuate yourselves in their favour, and conform yourselves to them, as we have done in the beginning. You may reduce the decrees of the Church of England, and the use of the Book of Prayers, to a good and Christian discipline, far more solid, and better grounded, than that for which ye so earnestly bestir yourselves.

I must add one word more, which will be hard of digestion; this is it, that you may be upbraided, that as many Ministers, that are natural of the country, being not made Ministers of the Church by your Bishop, nor by his Dimissories, nor by any other according to the Order of the English Church, you are not true and lawful Ministers. Likewise that as many among you as have not taken institution and induction into your parishes from the Bishop, nor from his substitute lawfully ordained and authorized so to do, ye

are come in by intrusion and usurpation of cure of souls, which nobody could give you but your Bishop, that is, in terms and words evangelical, that you are not come into the "sheepfold by the door," but by elsewhere, and that by the ecclesiastical laws you are excommunicants aud schismatics. I know well enough you do not regard such laws, and think that your privileges will exempt you from them, wherein you greatly deceive yourselves. For a man may tell you, who are ye that would have your ecclesiastical decrees made by private authority, to have force of laws, and dare scorn and reject those of the English Church, made by public authority, by far honester men, greater scholars (without comparison), more learned, and far more in number, than you are? The King's Majesty by his royal authority hath approved *them*, this realm hath received *them*. But what are your Synodical decrees? who be the authors of them, and who be they that have approved them? It is winked at, and your ignorance is borne with; but think

not, that that which is born in you be any such thing as virtue. Your privileges do not stretch so far as that you may make ecclesiastical decrees: had it been so, the Priests had retained Mass and Popery: in that you hold a contrary course to that of the English Church, whereof you are and must be (if you be Englishmen) members, it proceeds from nothing else but from the connivance and indulgence of your Governors, who have given too much credit to the French Ministers, and partly in the beginning to the stubbornness of the Papists of the islands. When your Governors shall have a liking to the English reformation, then will they make you leave the French reformation: you sail against wind and tide; you think that the Governors you shall have hereafter will be like Sir Thomas Layton; you are deceived. Though this day you had compassed your wish, to-morrow or the next day after, at your Governor's pleasure, all shall be marred again.

Finally, the ecclesiastical government which

you ask, hath no ground at all upon God's word. It is altogether unknown to the Fathers, who in matter of Christian discipline, and censure of manners, were more zealous and precise than we are. But you cannot, of all the learned and pious antiquity, shew one example of the discipline or ecclesiastical order, which you hold, as your Bishop, in his book of the 'Perpetual Government of the Son of God's Church,' doth learnedly teach. I pass over what I have myself written concerning it in my book, *De diversis Ministrorum gradibus*, and in my Defence against the Answer of Mr. Beza, and more largely in my confutation of his book, *De triplici genere Episcoporum*. I cannot wonder enough at the Scotchmen, who could be persuaded to abolish and reject the state of Bishops, by reasons so ill grounded, partly false, partly of no moment at all, and altogether unworthy a man of such fame. If the Scots had not more sought after the temporal means of Bishops, than after true reformation, never had Mr.

Beza's book persuaded them to do what they have done. And I assure you, that your opinion concerning the government of the Church, seems plausible unto great men but for two reasons; the one is, to prey upon the goods of the Church; the other for to keep it under, the revenues and authority of Bishops being once taken away. For the form of your discipline is such, that it will never be approved of by a wise and discreet supreme magistrate, who knows how to govern. Ye see not the faults you commit in your proceedings, as well Consistorial as Synodal; men well versed in the laws and in government do observe them. But they contemn them so long as they have the law in their own hands, and that it is far easier for them to frustrate them, and regard neither Consistory nor Synod, than for you to command and make decrees. Were your discipline armed with power, as the Inquisition of Spain is, it would surpass it in tyranny. The Episcopal authority is canonical; that is, so limited and inclosed within the bounds

of the Statutes and Canons [of the Church], that it can command nothing without law, much less contrary to law. And the Bishop is but the keeper of the laws, to cause them to be observed, and to punish the transgressors of your Consistories and Synods. For the present I will say no more, only take notice of this, that it is not likely the King, who knows what Consistories and Synods be, will grant that to the islands which doth displease him in Scotland. This, Gentlemen and Brethren, have I thought good to write unto you, entreating you to take it well, as coming from him that loves the islands, and the good and edification of the Church of Christ, as much as you can do.

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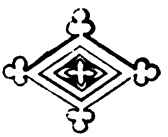


PRELIMINARY MATTER.

To the Most Noble the Prelates, and to the Most Reverend Fathers and Lords in Christ, the Lords and Bishops and most vigilant Pastors of the Anglican Church, now assembled in Convocation, my most honoured and respected masters,

HADRIAN SARAVIA,

implores and wishes grace and peace from God the Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Most Noble Prelates and Most Reverend Fathers, two Archbishops of excellent memory advised me to write my opinion concerning the preeminence of Bishops over

Presbyters. Having done this in three several treatises, I have collected them into one volume, together with a few others, some of which have been before published, and others were already written before I took these three in hand. How ill they have been received by most ministers of the so-called reformed Churches of Christ, may be seen from the conduct of Beza alone. He indeed has written against me, but without indulging in invectives or scoffs. Lambert Daneus, however, who whilst he lived wished to be thought some one, employed the most insulting language against me, calling me a swine, a swineherd, and a man born to gluttony.

Nor must I expect to gain by this new edition any better treatment from some others of the Genevese school: and this I would say without myself intending any insult to them or to that school. For I allude only to those who, being puffed up with I know not what fancies of what they think a purer reformation, look with supreme contempt on whoever differs from them,

imagining themselves alone to be wise and reformed: these I know will be most bitterly opposed to me. I therefore am compelled to appeal to you, to whom my uprightness and sincerity in this matter is well known. I have no private interest in the matter. I plead not my own cause, but the common cause of all the Churches. I have been induced to take this matter in hand, not by any promises or bribes, but on account of the great scandals occasioned by the rejection of Episcopacy, and the great advantages thereby given to our adversaries of the Roman Church, not to say even to those who are displeased with the superstitions and idolatry of that Church, and who would gladly come out of it, but for the very great scandals introduced into the Church of Christ under the specious plea of reformation. For these persons perceive that there has been not so much a rejection of the abominations of the Roman Church, as a departure from the usages and doctrines of all antiquity, so that it would appear, that from the days of the Apostles

themselves, down to these times, there never has existed a Church which can be taken by us as a model by which to reform ourselves. In my opinion, to overthrow the whole polity of the primitive Church as it existed in the times next to the Apostles, is not so much to reform as to deform.

It is, however, wonderful to see, how exceedingly most reformers plume themselves on this very thing, namely, that they have nothing whatever in common with the Roman Church, as though it retained no relics of the ancient Apostolic Church, which, if they were restored to their pristine state, would furnish forth that primitive Church of Rome, the faith of which is so highly commended by the Apostle Paul. No truly wise man will ever utterly reject gold adulterated with baser metals, but will rather refine it from them and from its dross, so as to make it pure gold, according to that prophecy of Esaias, wherein the Lord makes this gracious promise to his people, " I will turn my hand upon thee, and purge away thy dross, and take away all thy

tin[a]." That this has been done in the restoration of the pure worship of God and a pure public Liturgy, no orthodox pious person will ever deny. I do not however, by thus speaking, wish with preposterous zeal to effect hasty and unseasonable changes in the reformed Churches, but I would wish them to learn to see wherein they are defective, and cease to glory in the error of which they ought to be ashamed; so that they may, in due time, be led to amend what is amiss in themselves, and hereafter not turn a deaf ear to sound doctrine.

I shall easily contemn perverse judgments concerning myself and my writings, if these do but obtain your approbation, and be thought not unworthy of your countenance. It is my prayer to God that He will by His Holy Spirit direct you all to enact those things which shall conduce to His glory and the good of His Church.

Canterbury, Nov. 20, *A.D.* 1610.

[a] Is. i. 25.

To those venerable and pious men, the Pastors of the Churches of Christ in Lower Germany, my most respected and well-beloved Brethren in Christ, Greeting.

Whilst residing at Leyden, I frequently deplored to you, my well-beloved and respected Brethren in Christ, the condition of the Churches there—how Satan has in our day spread many snares, and assailed them, as with new guile, so with a deceit very different from any he employed of old, when he corrupted Churches by gainful hypocrisy, and filled the minds of the Christian laity with superstition. As may even now be seen in the Papacy, the clergy and people vied each with the other, the former to excel in a show of sanctity for lucre's sake, the latter to excel in liberality: the former sold and even now sell their services, the latter bought and even

now buy them at no small price: the former deceive, and the latter are deceived; and both go astray.

It is marvellous how much more efficacious superstition and hypocrisy are in moving men's minds, than true piety devoid of all disguise: such, it would seem, is the mind of man, that it delights in being deceived and in deceiving. Who can enumerate the frauds and impostures by which the Romanists extract money from the common people and from all? the repetitions of masses, the fires of purgatory, the relics of saints, their bones, teeth, ashes, garments, shoes, girdles, and hair, the sale of pardons for sin, images, feigned miracles, pilgrimages to images, or crosses, and innumerable other such-like vanities, which they blush not with hardened foreheads openly to call "pious frauds of the faithful." How gainful the trade of auricular confession, the Jesuits, above all other satellites of the Bishop of Rome, now know by experience. But the faithful servants of Christ are in this our day neglected by un-

grateful men, because they know not these artifices. Just as the heathen of old went madly after false gods, sparing no expense, grudging no sacrifice, by which their superstition might be gratified, but backward and loath to restore the worship of the true Deity, and thankless towards the servants of the true God: so need we not wonder that the same thing should be common among men now: man is as like to man, generation as like to generation, as water to water. How greatly the Ministers of the Churches are prized and honoured by those who uphold the Christian hierarchy, is known to all who live or have lived among them, but, in our day, those who teach true piety, point out the way which leads to God, and the manner in which men may be reconciled with God, are held in little or no esteem among the professors of the Gospel: if ever so little honour is paid them, be it ever so little, it is thought too much. And the cause of this is to be found not only in the ingratitude of the laity, but also in our own fault, in that we are

come to think, that the luxury, pomp, and insatiable avarice of the Papistical clergy cannot be avoided, unless we express the dignity of the Gospel Ministry beneath the dignity of every other rank of society, and indiscriminately surrender all the possessions of the Church to pillage: so that she no longer possesses wherewith to encourage the study of sacred literature, and adequately provide for the Presbyters who devote themselves earnestly and entirely to the ministration of the Church. Hence we have seen arise the new evil of the introduction into the Church of an order of temporary elders, hitherto unknown, who, being associated for a year, or for two years, with the Pastors of the Church, bestow on its concerns such casual and passing attention, as they can afford to do in the midst of their temporal affairs. And by this contrivance that is come to pass, which I deem the worst evil of all, namely, that that glory of the Church, and that strength arising from unity among brethren, which can be found only in the existence of one Bishop possessing

power and courage to oppose with authority the attempts of evil designers, is wholly vanished from among us; for being despised as individuals, they are contemned as a body, and so also, whilst individually they attend only to some particular interest or other of their Church, the common interests of the whole Church are neglected. I need not give instances: you may yourselves perceive what I allude to, and why I allude to it.

Many things are occurring daily which touch the common interests of all the Churches, and need immediate remedy, but which no one dares take upon himself to remedy, because the application of the remedy is thought to rest not with some one individual or with any few individuals, but with the whole province.

And since it is to be feared, that if any one should dare to do any thing for the good of the whole Church, his deed would not be approved by the rest of the brethren, but be annulled by them, and so he should, instead of thanks, obtain only the stigma of rashness

and audacity, the thing is delayed until the brethren can all assemble to discuss it. Then again it is not always convenient for a Synod to be called on every single occurrence which needs attention, and by the time it can be called, the mischief is done, and the opportunity or means of mending it lost irretrievably.

Among yourselves, the possessions of the Church have been pillaged, sacred and profane alike, as though it were sinful for Churches to possess any thing under Christian magistrates, and as though the chief heresy of the Church of Rome consisted in the possession of wealth. If any thing still remain in the Church among you, it is entirely in the power of your Burgomasters and Sheriffs, and you know of what religion they are. Not a farthing is left to be dispensed at your discretion. Though you be poor individually, still you might be wealthy as a body, were it not that men are generally persuaded, that the Ministers of the Gospel ought to be poor; and so deep root has this notion gained, that it cannot be removed. The result will

be, that the whole service of the Churches will either go to ruin, or fall into contempt. I had resolved to address the States General on this subject, had I remained among you, and to exhort and beseech them to look more closely into it: warning them that they have no power over the goods of the Church: that whatever calamity befals Belgium, may be regarded as a visitation from God, for the sacrilege there committed: that the property of Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, and of several Monasteries, were given to promote the study of sacred literature, that those establishments might prove seminaries of Pastors and Ministers for the Church, and furnish rewards for veteran soldiers of Christ when past the age of active service: and, finally, that whatever had been perverted from its original intention, ought to be restored by a Christian magistracy to its original and legitimate use, but not to be abolished. But this my design was prevented, first by the death of the Prince of Orange, and then by consideration of the interest I possessed with the

Earl of Leicester; for I was desirous not to appear to do it at an unseasonable moment, when the State was in grief and amazement, nor out of confidence in the favour of the Earl, and by his suggestion. The error of many otherwise not disaffected to the doctrine of the Gospel would surprise me, did I not know that the Ministers of the Churches, whom the thing concerns more immediately, are themselves the authors of it. Looking, however, to the evil state of the times and to the notions of wicked men, I know not whether I should not rather rejoice than grieve at it. For although the whole Church will suffer more than is commonly imagined from the spoliation and removal of the external supports on which it rests, yet I am inclined not to lament, that at the commencement of the Reformation no question was started concerning Church property, lest our adversaries should have been able to say, that the promoters of it were rather intent on the goods of ecclesiastical persons, than anxious for the glory of God. For had they

started any controversy concerning Church property, they could never have escaped the calumnies of evil men: whereas, having judged themselves to possess no interest in the goods once belonging to the upholders of the Pontificate, and having left them entirely at the disposal of the civil magistrates, they stand clear of all such suspicion. God sometimes overrules the very ignorance of his servants to a good end, when, for instance, truth, if propounded, would cause more harm than good. It cannot however be denied, nor can we escape from the stigma, that some did join us and support our cause in the hope of the plunder of Church property: and pious men. although aware of this, as is evident from their writings, have preferred to submit to and dissemble the wrong resulting to themselves, rather than give offence to any; imitating herein St. Paul, who, in the midst of wealthy Corinth, preferred to labour with his own hands for his livelihood, rather than give to a strange people, ignorant of the claims and rights of an Apostle, any occasion

of suspecting him of evil. And it was in fact this reflection which deterred me from declaring my opinion in this matter to any and all alike, but I could not conceal it from my brethren and colleagues, and some of the magistrates of the city of Ghent. Still I confess I did not speak out so plainly as I shall be found to do in the treatises I am now publishing: for I feared lest I should give offence to men who had but lately been converted to the faith, and myself incur a suspicion of ambition and avarice. Being now in a situation in which no one can accuse me of seeking any peculiar advantage to myself, nor any thing but what is good and needful for all the Churches of Christ, I have deemed it my duty openly to declare my opinion concerning their goods and possessions. For I am not so selfish as to rest content with being well off here; I would wish my brethren on the continent to be equally so: and although I might, with good reason, complain of having been deserted by you who ought to have been the assertors of my innocency, yet my zeal

and good will, as towards the Churches, so towards you whom God has set over them, has not thereby been impaired, but my solicitude concerning your welfare and that of your Churches remains as great as it was when I was amongst you.

Seeing then that the error of the laity and of the magistrates, which certainly must bring upon the Churches either utter ruin or incredible evil, has been allowed to proceed far enough already, it is for the interest of the Church that it be itself taught its duty towards its Pastors. It must be a pernicious thing to leave to posterity a bad example, from which they shall learn to imagine, that whatever they shall have received from their progenitors under the name of reformation, is really reformation. Mankind look more commonly to things than to the causes of things, those being obvious and tangible, the latter ordinarily secret. I own I have gone farther in these treatises than I had intended to do when amongst you; and it has so happened, because I see that here in England the ma-

jority are being hurried away by error after the bad example of other countries: that some are intent upon seizing, and already in anticipation devour, the possessions of the Churches, knowing these will fall into their hands should their so-called Reformation be brought about; whilst others look with envy on the Pastors of the Churches, thinking it unworthy of Evangelical Bishops to hold the wealth once held by dependents of the Roman Pontiff. These people assert, that the power and honour, which it has pleased the Sovereign Majesty in this country to preserve to all Bishops within its dominions, are opposed to Evangelical Reform. Hence it has become incumbent on me to discuss at large, what and how great honour is due to the Pastors of Churches in a Christian state.

I apprehend, however, that some men, and those especially who are ignorant of the primitive constitution of Churches, will be offended at my treatise concerning the different grades of the Ministers of the Gospel, and at my disapprobation of two things in our

Reformation, namely, the abrogation of the Episcopal order, and the introduction of a new class of Elders, unknown to and unsanctioned by the writings of the Apostles. That disapprobation I have expressed, because men have generally taken up the notion, that the main thing in Reformation is the dilapidation of Church property, the abolition of Episcopacy, and the creation of a new kind of Elders, who are to rule the Church for a year or two conjointly with the Ministers of God's word.

This last false notion I reprobate, not because I disapprove of the association of aged pious men with the Pastors and true Presbyters of the Churches, but because I would not have such persons thought to be Presbyters or Elders of the description mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. Paul; and because I fear, that the error, if allowed to continue, will in course of time become incurable. If any one shall deem me to err, or to go too far, let him instruct me: gladly will I alter my opinion, and yield

to whoever shall teach what is more true. Yet this I say, not as myself doubting, or being otherwise than fully persuaded that what I propound in this work is drawn from the word of God, for I verily believe I do not herein swerve from that rule which God has given for our guidance; but if any one be confident that he can prove the contrary from the word of God, I am more ready to hear and to be taught than to speak and be heard, to be convinced than to convince, provided that truth, to which alone victory is due, prevail. I seek not to be believed beyond what is expressly declared in the word of God, or may be proved therefrom by clear deduction of reason. Meantime, as I have borne with and still bear with those who differ from me, so long as they hold fast those heads of the Christian faith, without belief in which no one can truly be called a Christian; so I wish and entreat them to bear with me with the like charity.

As, in duty bound, I acknowledge as judge of my opinion a general and free Council of

the Church, if it may be held with the consent of all Christian Princes; but if such cannot be had, nor I be persuaded by my opponents, nor they by me, let us together await the judgment of God, to Whom each of us shall render an account of his ministry according to the talents committed to him for the same. I would not dispute bitterly with my brethren, but set forth my sentiments concerning the different grades of Ministers of the Gospel, and admonish the Christian laity, people and Magistrates alike, of their duty towards their Pastors: that all may know what is the proper rank, which Ministers of the Gospel should hold under the civil Magistrate in a Christian state. If my language appear severe in some places, such its tone has been occasioned by the enormity of the wickedness spoken of, not excited by hatred of any individual; for whatever be the sins of men in this particular, I impute them to error and ignorance, not to wilful wickedness. There is open sacrilege; but who first began it I know not, neither do I wish to know. But

seeing that wicked men have joined themselves to us, and have wished to seem supporters of the Gospel, not so much from love of piety to God as from hatred to all religion, I sharply rebuke their perfidy and impiety, be they of whatever rank they may: for our order is not free from men of a description, such that no severity of language can be too great to be used concerning them. If I any where specify the Dutch, far be it from me to mean the whole nation: I refer only to those who degenerate from the characteristic honesty of their nation, and deserve so much the more rebuke, in that they abuse the authority committed to them, and shamefully take advantage of the confidence of their countrymen: men such as these I may fairly charge with impiety; to others I impute only error. Error and ignorance diminish indeed the guilt of sin, but do not take away its inherent deformity. I know it will sound harsh to some to hear complaints of sacrilege, and seem absurd to others to wish for Bishops to govern the Church. For even here in

England, there are persons who dislike Episcopacy, as though there could be no Ecclesiastical discipline under it; and some have proceeded to such hatred of it, as to secede from the Anglican Church as Papistical and Antichristian, and to hold separatist meetings. Such persons I could not avoid censuring, seeing that they defend their schism and private conventicles, by instancing our Churches in Holland. It is well known that the first Churches of foreigners, which were gathered in this country under King Edward, had John Alasco[a] for their Bishop. And those which now exist here under the protection of our most gracious Queen Elizabeth, acknowledge and submit to the Bishops of the several Dioceses in which they are situated. Others who are more modest, and know how grievous and fatal is the sin of schism, do not indeed separate from the communion of the Churches to which they belong, but indulge

[a] John Alasco is styled Episcopus Vesprimansis in the Onomasticon Literarium of Sanxius. Guerike calls him *Probst* Vesprim. Weisbrunn, in Lower Hungary.

in hatred of the Bishops, and promise to themselves a golden age could they but succeed in effecting their abolition. To such I venture to predict, that they will bring both themselves and the entire service of the Church, into the greatest contempt, even into greater than exists in Holland: and whereas there now, by the grace of God, does exist here some kind of discipline, there will, should their designs succeed, be none at all, except of an arbitrary kind, which will cease to be as soon as it begins to be. I say nothing of the civil commotions which I expect; but this I know, that most of those who are the prime movers of the design, will be its first enemies whenever they shall have brought it to pass by their present specious pretexts. You yourselves see and feel the calamitous condition of your own Churches; but allow me to say, that you appear to me not to be aware whence it has arisen, nor to know the real remedy for it. We hear of the disturbed state of the Church at Utrecht, and are not ignorant what has been its condition from the

first. If a truly Christian Bishop had there succeeded to the Bishop appointed by the Roman Pontiff, and had Evangelical Pastors, content with the rights and incomes of the Churches, succeeded to the Sacrificers of the Mass, the affairs both of Church and State would be more tranquil there. The same I assert concerning the other provinces, from which the tyrant of the Churches has been ejected. But what is to be done when men's minds are prejudiced, and persuaded that the very existence of Bishops, and their maintenance by tithes and other oblations of the laity, is itself Papistical? The remedies which you are seeking to apply to the evils of your Churches, will provoke greater evils, not so much because they are in themselves evil remedies, as because the whole state is so disordered as not to be able to bear them. You require great prudence and great moderation, which, being never found in many, there is need of one single man who shall carry out good designs; and shall devote his care, not to this or that part, but to all parts

alike. I do not mean all the parts of the whole Church throughout the world, for that no single mortal could do, or ever will be able to do; but all the parts of each city or each province, so far as it may be done by human ability. It is safer to follow the footsteps of the old Fathers, than to attempt to pave a new way. How you will receive my freedom of speech, I know not; but I hope well of you, and commit the whole matter to God. In times of perplexity, it is the duty of a good citizen not to conceal his opinion concerning public matters, nor may the faithful servant of Christ suppress his opinion touching the interests of the Church. Should I have obtained my end, I shall have reason to be thankful to God; if otherwise, I shall have done my duty towards the Church of Christ: to which I hold myself so bounden by my allegiance, that I may not pass over in silence any error that may come to my knowledge. For although, perhaps, I may not influence those for whom I write these things, I shall leave to posterity a testimony

against manifest error, so that it may some time or other come to amend what their fathers shall appear to have done amiss.

Your most affectionate,

HADRIAN SARAVIA.

London, March 29, 1590.

TO THE READER.

WHOEVER thou art, kind Reader, into whose hands this book may fall, I would not have you imagine, from the discussion it contains, that any fundamental doctrine of faith, on which salvation depends, is called in question, by my asserting that Episcopacy ought to be restored in those reformed Churches which at present have it not; asserting it, as I do, against the opinion of some writers of great eminence, whom God has employed in this our age for the edification of His Church. Did I thus act solely on my own opinion, and unsupported by the authority of Scripture, and the consent of the old Fathers and the whole Church, I own

that every one might blame me. What, then, it may be asked, were those eminent men of whom you speak wholly wrong? Did they perceive nothing of what you maintain? Far from it. On the contrary, I assert, that they saw things as I see them; but it happened to them as it happens to people who set about repairing an old house, who, seeing much on all sides decayed and spoilt, although there remain many goodly apartments, and necessary portions which they would wish to preserve, yet, because these are connected with what is rotten and unsafe, think the latter cannot be removed and then restored, unless the whole edifice be utterly demolished. Even so, the men of whom I speak imagined they could not extirpate Papistical superstition and tyranny, unless they also uprooted with them many ornaments of the Church, which were thought to be either contaminated by that superstition, or inseparably connected with it: whence it came to pass, that, together with idolatry and superstition, those things were in many places abolished which may be

serviceable to the Church, as well for the maintenance of good morals, as for upholding the dignity of the Ministry in its relation to the State. For although in things gross and material, that which I have mentioned may often happen by inevitable necessity, yet in moral subjects it is not so: for in them it *is* possible for the good to be retained and restored, whilst the bad and hurtful is removed.

The question, then, which I discuss, is not one involving salvation, but a question concerning the best guides and masters by whom we may be led in the way to eternal salvation. Some men imagine, that the censorship of morals should be entrusted entirely to the civil Magistrate, and ascribe to the Ministry of the Gospel the mere and simple preaching of the Word and administration of the Sacraments: a notion, which I wonder how theologians ever could adopt, seeing that it cannot be established either from the word of God, or from any usage of our forefathers. Others ascribe all power of Ecclesiastical

censure to the Bishops, and those who are really as well as in name Presbyters, both possessing that authority which God gave to the Apostles, and the Bishops their successors. A third class consists of those who, rejecting the Episcopate, associate with their Pastors temporary Elders, to whom they commit the entire regimen of the Churches and all Ecclesiastical discipline; which form of government they call divine, pronouncing the government by Bishops to be human.

The controversy resembles that which is raised among philosophers concerning the best form of civil government. Some imagining the government of one man to be the best, as, in fact, it is; others preferring the government of the chief men; others again a democracy; whilst a fourth class approve of a mixed form, combining the three just mentioned in nicely-balanced proportions: which, they assert, must be the best of all. Be that however as it may, the question, in the case of civil government, is not concerning the kind of government itself, so

much as concerning the character and condition of those who are to be governed, and for whose good the government is to be devised; so that that may be esteemed the best form of government for them, which in itself and absolutely is not the best, although very necessary and very salutary for the particular nation, or time or place in question.

Hence God has never given to any particular nation any fixed and perpetual form of civil government, such that it should not be lawful to alter as time or place might require. But the regimen of which I have to treat is different from this: for since it has proceeded immediately from God, men may not alter it at their will, neither can it be necessary so to do. For Divine wisdom has so tempered it, that it is itself adverse to no form of civil government. So soon, however, as any entire State has become a Church, the government of that State receives some modifications, although not such as to change its essence. When a State has so become a Church, the rulers of the Church and those

of the State, who till then had been alien from each other, holding nothing in common, forthwith become bound to reciprocal duties. Whatever others may think, when Church and State are well ordered in unison, the Christian Magistrate will not be viewed by the Church as a private individual, nor will the Ministers of Churches be thought such by the State.

From not duly seeing this, have arisen confusion and discord concerning Ecclesiastical discipline and polity. For my part, I consider Bishops indispensably necessary to the Church; and I hold that form of Church discipline and government to be the best, and to be of divine origin, which is conducted by the hands of holy Bishops and Presbyters, truly so called, according to the rules of the word of God, and of the old Councils. When, however, I reflect on the iniquity of the times, and the condition of some places in which it has pleased God to gather together His scattered sheep from Babylonish captivity by the hands of pious and learned men,

I do not see how true Bishops could have been restored in them.

I have held the office of Pastor in the Churches of Flanders and Holland: but I can scarcely describe the hindrances to such a restoration which I there met with. Still, granting this, an irregularity; which has occurred inevitably in some few places and in only one age, cannot establish a law which shall bind the whole world. Our present dissensions on this subject would never have existed, had not the tyranny of some Bishops given rise to an opinion opposed to the consent of all antiquity, which makes men look with suspicion on all Bishops alike. But it is remarked, that a similar prejudice is even now gaining ground against the consistories we have invented, whether right or wrong I do not now say: wherefore I conclude, that the facts of the case should be calmly examined by whoever would come to the truth of the matter.

In the six and twenty years last past, I have over and over again declared my opinion con-

cerning the Episcopate in familiar discourse with my friends, although not every where, nor to all. What would be thought of me, I gathered from the case of others, who had freely declared to their brethren their sentiments on the same subject. For, a discussion having arisen between some Ministers of the word of God concerning Bishops, Peter Villiers (whom I mention by way of respect) asserted, that they ought not to be rejected so rashly as had been done: whereupon some taking great offence complained of him to me, who had not been present at the discussion, charging him with ambitious views: fearing lest he should, some time or other, destroy in the French Churches that equality which, said they, ought to subsist between the Ministers of the Gospel. What was I to do? although I agreed with him, I did not dare defend him, lest I should incur the same charge of ambitious views. The result was, that, from that time forth, I set about more diligently examining the subject, and I doubt not but the same thing will happen to many

of my brethren, who see and feel that this authority of Bishops is a desideratum in our Churches. Some indeed there are who can endure neither equals nor superiors; but I thank God that, for my own part, I can both submit without grudging or envy to some of my brethren as my superiors, and carry myself without pride towards my equals, or contempt towards my inferiors.

Now, however, that I am here in England, a foreigner, no one can suspect me of aiming at the Episcopacy, and seeking supremacy above my brethren. I venture therefore to declare my sentiments more boldly than I did when living among my brethren and equals in authority and rank. Still there is another apprehension, which makes me reluctant to do as I have done, namely, the fear lest I should seem to flatter and pay court to those who are Bishops. But if any one will consider the temper of our times, he will find that their favour is certain exposure to the hatred and envy of the multitude, and that a cautious man, studious of his own

interests, had much better keep silence, and so await the result of things, than write what he thinks about them: and this I boldly assert I might have done without any inconvenience to myself, and without incurring the ill will of any one whatever.

My motive God knows: my act men will judge according as they are severally disposed: my heart the Lord will judge. But do you, kind reader, here learn my intention; in a few words, it has been to benefit the Churches that have been or that shall be reformed, to extinguish the schisms which have arisen, and to prevent the rise of others.

If any one think, that this is not to be done in my way, he may enjoy his own opinion: events, which are the instructors of fools, will some time or other declare how good and profitable my advice is: but, in the mean time, the Church will suffer detriment never to be repaired. The foundation of our faith is the knowledge of God, and of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour whom He hath sent, the Bishop of our souls. But, as,

whenever men engage together in any thing, whether art or manufacture, which it concerns the State or Prince to have well done, it is needful that order be observed, and the whole thing be under control, which control the more exact and effectual it be, the better the thing is done, and the more permanent it is—so in religion should the same be attended to by whoever wishes to keep it pure and undefiled.

That men do not all agree concerning the method of governing the Church, ought not to deter the wise. The more useful and necessary a thing is to mankind, the more hindrances and delays does the enemy of man's salvation raise to it. Was there ever any thing so clear and manifest to all men, that it was not made matter of dispute in some way or other?

Of what use to know that you know nothing? and to make it a question whether any one really sees and does what he sees and does? There is no precept of philosophy, no precept, nay, no fundamental, of our reli-

gion, but has been questioned. The raising of questions is the worst of all occupations in which God allows the sons of men to engage. But the vanity of human wit detracts nothing from the truth of things. Proceed therefore, kind reader, peruse what I have written, and judge it fairly.

PREFACE.

THE opposition to the tyranny of a Roman Bishop over all the Churches of Christ, kingdoms, and governments, in the whole earth, has now proceeded so far, that many imagine it necessary to extinguish all Primacy in the Church, even to its very name, in order to avoid tyrannical Prelates. But men err herein, as I think. When the Tarquinii had been expelled from Rome, the Romans abolished the name of King for ever after, as though by abolishing the name of the tyranny which they abhorred, the tyranny itself could be abolished with its name: yet afterwards they had to endure more forms of tyranny, than would have befallen them had they

retained the kingly title and authority. For the tyranny was not in them, but in Tarquin. Even so, I affirm, the tyranny which has oppressed the Churches of Christ consisted not in the Primacy of Bishops and Archbishops, but in those who abused that Primacy, and who, overleaping all bounds, extended their province beyond the limits allowed to it by the Christian religion, removing the boundaries fixed by the Fathers: hence has arisen the immense and intolerable power of the Bishop of Rome.

I dare not accuse as tyrannical the Primitive form of Church government, nor the many men of consummate erudition and piety who have been Bishops; nor to charge with error the Councils which confirmed the ancient polity of the Church as they had received it from their forefathers. For although I am well aware that the Fathers and Councils *may* err, (as, for instance, if they should decree any thing contrary to the word of God,) yet it does not thence follow that they *have* erred in this particular point. If

we were equally clear-sighted in discerning in ourselves that innate corruption which we confess to belong to all men, we should be more keen in rebuking our own errors than those of others. But it happens contrariwise. If we meet with any thing in the Fathers which happens not to be to our fancy, forthwith it occurs to us that THEY were but men: and because men are prone to error, we set the thing down at once as one of the errors of the age in which they lived: little thinking of OURSELVES meanwhile, but speaking and acting as though WE were exempt from the common lot of humanity, and as though that might not happen to OURSELVES, in our condemnation of the Fathers, which we make the very ground of our condemnation of THEM. No innovation may be made contrary to the unanimous and constant consent of all the Fathers of the old Church, except on the authority of the express word of God: this I assert fearlessly: for whoever denies all authority to the Fathers, leaves himself none. Allowing that the Fathers were men and

had their failings, still it is no small matter to have them on our side, in such of the chief matters of the Christian religion, and of the external polity of the Church, as are disputed between us and the adherents of the Roman Pontiff. Although the consent of the whole people of God, from the times of the Apostles down to our days, ought not to be set on an equality with the word of God, still it is justly entitled to the next place to it in point of authority. Any usage of the people of God, received in all the Churches of the whole world, is a kind of inviolable law. It is not likely that an universal consent of all the Churches in all times can have come to pass without the sanction of the word of God or Apostolical tradition. Yet since no consent, no custom, no prescription arising from length of time, ought to gain ground in the Church of Christ contrary to the word of God, we ought to weigh the reasons and examine the passages of Scripture, whereby the Fathers were induced to receive that regimen of the Church which is rejected by

the men of our times, that it may be ascertained whether they erred, or we ourselves are mistaken. In former times, no one disapproved of Bishops and Archbishops; but now hatred of the Bishop of Rome and his satellites has brought it to pass, that these titles are made matter of controversy, and that too by different parties on different grounds. Some would have them forthwith abolished as inventions of Antichrist, or of those who have prepared the way before him: others, more modest, out of respect for antiquity, are of opinion, although they disapprove of them, that they are to be tolerated until they may conveniently be set aside together with the offices themselves. They do not dare condemn openly the Bishops and Archbishops whom they know to have governed the Church greatly to its profit; but because they see, that some reformed Churches of our times, having received the Gospel and shaken off the yoke of the Roman Pontiff, have also rejected Episcopal government, they disapprove of the Fathers, and prefer

a new form of Church Polity, as that which they imagine to have been instituted by our Saviour, and to be wholly free from ambition and tyranny.

The reason why I can not agree with them in thus thinking is this; viz. that their scheme does not appear to be sufficiently proved from the word of God, nor to be sanctioned by any ancient precedent, being a thing either wholly unknown to antiquity, or known only as having been condemned as the service of heretics. Accordingly, I think the same of this new method of governing the Church, as others think of the Episcopal form; namely, that it is of human invention, and to be tolerated only where no better is to be had: and, contrariwise, that which they reject as human appears to me divine, as being appointed by God both in the Old Testament and in the New. But because it has been contaminated by many sins of men, that which should be laid to the charge of man's wickedness, is set down against the function itself: just as though this newly-invented

form of government were not liable to meet with the same misfortune.

The Roman Antichrist has so afflicted the Church of Christ by his Bishops, Archbishops, Patriarchs, and Metropolitans, that tyranny is thought to be secretly connected with those very titles. He that has once been stung by a scorpion, fears to find one under every stone. In order to remedy this evil, some have changed the names retaining the things, and have created Superintendents, in lieu of Bishops, and Superintendents General or Provincial, in lieu of Archbishops, as though the dispute were concerning those titles, and not concerning the offices themselves. The signification of words, however, being arbitrary, the disputes concerning those titles is futile: if the kinds of government denoted by them can be proved to have the sanction of the word of God, there can be no reason why they should be abolished out of mere hatred for their names. If it be replied that there are many corruptions crept into Episcopal government, that is not the

subject of my present inquiry: the same complaint might be made concerning the government of civil Magistrates, yet no one has ever imagined that therefore there was sufficient ground for removing our governors from their office. The question which we have to decide is therefore, whether our Lord forbade any primacy of rank with superiority of power among the Pastors of the Church and Ministers of the Gospel, so that one Pastor may not be set over another, one Bishop over another Bishop, for preservation of the external polity of the Church; and not concerning the manner in which Bishops have used their power. If any one wish to accuse Bishops and their Consistories of dereliction of their duty, or of injustice, there is no reason why they should not do so before the chief Magistrate of the State. I undertake not the defence of any one Bishop: I am not a person of such importance, that they can need my patronage or countenance: they are fully able to plead their own cause, and answer their detractors themselves. I

only deplore the abolition of the ancient order necessary for preserving the discipline of the Church of Christ, and most zealously maintained by the Fathers; and I greatly fear that it will be utterly destroyed in the troubles of our times, because I see that men are inclined to reduce the whole Ministry of the Church to the mere preaching of the Gospel. Now this controversy cannot, I apprehend, be better decided, than by inquiring into the different ministrations instituted by our Lord, and handed down by the Apostles; what they generally were, their several degrees, and the times at which they severally commenced. This is what I now propose to do, for there may it be seen what is agreeable to the word of God, and what repugnant thereto.

Such an inquiry may very well commence by the consideration, first, of the institution of the offices; and, secondly, of the passage of St. Paul, Eph. iv. in which he sets forth to the faithful the divers ministrations of the Church, in their order of rank, setting first

Apostles, secondly Prophets, thirdly Evangelists, fourthly Pastors and Teachers. Of each of these we will speak in order. Although St. Paul seems to have spoken of the ministrations given to the whole Church throughout the world after the ascension of our Lord, we will go farther back, namely, to the time when our Lord appointed the twelve Apostles, to whom he added the seventy-two Disciples, whom he employed in preaching the Gospel throughout Judæa. Although this our inquiry be concerning the Ministers of the Gospel, and Pastors of the Churches of Christ, yet I shall add something concerning the Deaconship. For since the Gospel propounds to us not a mere inactive contemplation of divine things and good things to come, but the active exercise of all the virtues, and especially of Christian Love, another Ministry arose from the Ministry of the Gospel, having for its object provision for the corporeal wants of the present life, and the management of the possessions of the Church; so that the Ministry of

the Gospel is two-fold, one part regarding solely the glory of God and salvation of souls, the other attending to things external. Having considered these things, I shall proceed to speak of the honour and reverence due by the law of nature, the law of God, and the law of nations, to those who minister in divine things; and, lastly, I shall treat of the punishment due to sacrilege and sacrilegious men, having therein respect to the plunder of the goods of the Church prevalent in these our times. These three subjects I have, on account of their diversity, considered in three separate books, but on account of the connexion subsisting between them, and their dependence the one on the other, I have set them forth in one and the same volume.

CHAP. I.

WHAT IS MEANT BY THE MINISTRY OF THE GOSPEL—ITS PARTS.

ALTHOUGH the inequality subsisting between the different Orders of the Ministers of the Gospel be the subject of this treatise, it will not be foreign from my purpose to begin by defining the term, "Ministry of the Gospel," and stating what the different Orders are of which it consists; for hence will more clearly appear what is common to all, and what peculiar to each. The "Ministry of the Gospel" may be variously defined from various passages of Scripture: but I consider its genus to be contained in two plain words of the Apostle Paul[a], and assert that it is a

[a] 1 Cor. iv. 1. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

"dispensation of the mysteries of God," mysteries which have been made manifest to the whole world by the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By mystery I understand both the doctrine of the wonderful counsel of God in the redemption of mankind, and whatever things God has connected with that doctrine. These I divide into three parts; first, the Preaching of the Gospel; secondly, the Administration of the Sacraments; thirdly, Authority for governing the Church. Or, otherwise, it is the promulgation of the doctrine of the gratuitous remission of sin, which Christ by his death obtained for man; or it may be called the doctrine of free justification and sanctification by the Holy Ghost obtained through faith in Christ. Many other definitions might be given, but I omit them for sake of brevity. Any one may understand, from what has already been advanced, what is meant by the Gospel, and the preaching of the Gospel. The commands of our Lord respecting the baptism of believers, and the celebration of

the Eucharist in remembrance of Him, belong to the second part of this Ministry; to the third part, or government, further pertains the power of the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and of binding and loosing on earth what shall be bound and loosed in Heaven [b]; and this has two subdivisions, one, the ordination of Ministers, the other, censorship of manners. This power the Apostles committed to the two Orders which they created of Bishops and Presbyters [c], that all things might be done with decency and in order, and that decorum εὐταξία might be maintained among Christians. Presbyters with their Bishop maintain order among their people, and keep them in their duty. It was by this authority committed unto him that the Apostle delivered to Satan obstinate adversaries of the truth, and in his Epistles occasionally mingled threats with admonitions [d].

On this point, however, a controversy,

[b] Matt. xvi. 19. xviii. 18. [c] Acts xiv. 23.
[d] 1 Tim. i. 20; 1 Cor. iv. 21; 2 Cor. xii. 21. and xiii. 2.

unknown to the Fathers of the Christian Church, has arisen in our days; for there are men who imagine that the censorship of manners is to be wholly left to the Christian Magistrate, because it is part of his duty to maintain good morals and public decency, and check crime by penalties; to the Pastor these men leave (in a society governed by Christian Magistrates) merely the office of teaching virtue, reproving vice, and administering the sacred rites indiscriminately to all who may offer themselves, (be they who and what they may;) they allow them indeed to admonish men to examine themselves before they come to the Sacraments; if they obey, say they, it is well; if not, they are to be left to the judgment of their own consciences and God, but ought not to be excluded from participation in those Sacraments. Strange that those who understand the Ministers of the Gospel to have the power of loosing, should not be able also to comprehend how they may likewise bind; that the cases are parallel, and that, the one being contrary to

the other, they must both be executed by the Pastors of the Church, and in contrary ways. It is past controversy that sinners are loosed by the Ministers of the Gospel, when remission of sins is promised in the name of Christ, and sealed by the bath of Baptism: who then can doubt, that when, by the same power, the wrath of God and eternal judgment is denounced on unbelievers, and the Sacraments of Christ refused to them, they are not in like manner bound? For as it is contrary to the duty of a faithful Shepherd to let wolves into the Lord's fold, so is it also not to eject such as may have stolen into it unawares. If it happen that after Baptism any one fall away from the faith, or, whilst confessing Christ with his lips, deny him by his deeds, and crucify unto himself Christ afresh, what is to be deemed the duty of a Pastor towards such an one? He will bind (it is answered) the obstinate offender, and loose the penitent: which things as they cannot be done except by contrary acts, as he will hold forth to the penitent the promises

of Divine mercy, and receive him into the Church, so will he denounce to the impenitent offender that he is an outcast from the kingdom of God, has lost his citizenship of Heaven, and become unworthy of the house of God, and so he will refuse to cast the bread of the children of God to the dog which is returned to his own vomit. Just as the faithful steward of the mysteries of God baptizes no one who has been a heathen, except he first openly profess his faith, so does he not admit to the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ the sinner who has publicly offended, unless he give proofs of sincere repentance. This was the old theology. But it is not my present purpose to refute this error; to do it, would require a separate dissertation. I consider it sufficiently refuted by the fact, that it is an error of recent growth, contrary to the unanimous consent of the ancient Church, not to speak of the judgment of the heathen, who always made a wide distinction between things sacred and things profane. As to the abuse

of Ecclesiastical power in former times, and still in our days, by the tyrannical Bishops of Rome, it cannot abrogate the proper use of a thing good in itself, and of Divine appointment. The law by which the wicked are excluded from things sacred is coeval with all religion, and dates from the creation of the world. Deplorable indeed is the condition of the Church when we see it so fallen, that whilst it professes to be, and is, the school of virtue, no censorship of morals is allowed in it: so that what appeared most excellent and most necessary to heathen Republics, ignorant of the true worship of God, is disapproved and rejected by Christians.

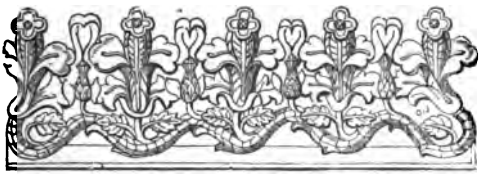
Although one and the same Ministry of the Gospel be committed to all the Pastors of the Church, no slight inequality subsists between them in respect of this third part of their office, owing to the different degrees of authority appointed in the beginning by our Lord, and continued by the Apostles. There is no question but that the Apostles held the first rank, Evangelists the second, Prophets

the third, Pastors and Presbyters the fourth, Teachers the last. But Pastors and Presbyters were distinguished by the Apostles into two Orders, so that as the authority of an Apostle was greater than that of an Evangelist or Prophet, and that of an Evangelist greater than that of a Bishop or Presbyter, so Titus and Timotheus, who were at once Presbyters and Bishops, possessed greater powers than the Presbyters ordained in every city by Apostolical authority, and who were merely Presbyters. For, though Christian Baptism be one and the same, by whomsoever administered, whether by an Apostle, or by a Presbyter of the lowest rank, and the doctrine of the Gospel be not better nor worse by whichever Order it be set forth, yet a sound form of government does not allow all to have equal authority for governing, and the uniform practice of the Church, perpetuated from the time of the Apostles down to the present day, proves that a less authority was given to the latter than to the former.

Clear proof of this is furnished by the first appointment of the twelve Apostles and of the seventy Disciples. For, in order that the commencement of the Church under the New Dispensation might correspond to its commencement under the Old, the twelve Apostles were first elected to be the Patriarchs and Progenitors of the new people, which God had determined to choose for himself from among the Gentiles. Afterwards, when the harvest was become great but the labourers were few, as the Lord had, in the Old Testament, added seventy Elders to assist Moses in ruling the people, so in like manner our Saviour added other seventy to the twelve Apostles. Thus, in the infancy of the Church, the Lord instituted two Orders of Ministers of the Gospel, and, by making their numbers different, and dividing them into two classes, shewed that they were unequal in honour and in power, which he never would have done had he considered it wrong that inequality should exist among Ministers of the Gospel. These were its

first preachers under our Lord's direction whilst he lived on earth. After he had ascended into Heaven, he raised up Prophets in his Church, when he sent the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost to endow the Apostles not only with the gift of tongues, but also with divine wisdom, and a wonderful knowledge of things to come. In course of time, however, when the number of Churches was increased, and the Apostles were not of themselves sufficient for founding and ruling them, they chose to themselves assistants from among the disciples whom they had instructed. These, although conspicuous for faith and the other gifts of the Holy Spirit, being followers and disciples of the Apostles and Evangelists, were far inferior to these their masters. When, again, not only the number of the Churches, but the multitude also of believers in each, began greatly to increase, Pastors were ordained in each Church, and were, in those first times, called indiscriminately Bishops or Presbyters. We shall treat of all these particularly, after first

expounding the two-fold vocation to the Ministry of the Church set forth in holy Scripture.



CHAP. II.

CONCERNING ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY VOCATION TO THE MINISTRY.

It is not lawful for any man to take upon himself the holy Ministry of Christ's Church, unless he be duly called thereunto; for it belongs to God alone to choose his servants, and to give laws to man concerning whom he willeth to be chosen. Hence it results that there are two kinds of lawful vocation; the one, when a man is called by God himself; the other, when men appoint a Minister in the Church agreeably to the laws prescribed by God. The latter we call an ordinary, the former an extraordinary vo-

cation: which last, again, takes place in two ways, namely, immediately from God without the intervention of a messenger, or, with such intervention, by means of a Prophet: and this either before the existence of an Order of Ministers, or after its institution. Moses and Aaron are instances of each of these kinds of extraordinary vocation: Moses was called immediately by God himself, without the medium of a Prophet; and Aaron by means of his brother Moses, who, by command of God, prior to the existence of a written law on the subject, raised Aaron and his sons to the Priesthood, and the whole Tribe of Levi to the ministrations of the Tabernacle, so that the Sacerdotal Order and the whole Levitical Ministry should originate with them. Samuel is an instance of extraordinary vocation of the second kind, having been called by God after the establishment of a Ministerial Order among his people. Elijah the Tishbite, and almost all the Prophets of the Old Testament, were raised up by God in the same way. But Elisha and some

others were extraordinarily called by means of a Prophet. In the New Testament, our Lord, *before* the institution of any ministry of the Gospel, chose twelve, and afterwards added other seventy to them; but Paul and Matthias he added to the College of twelve *after* the institution of the Ministry.

The peculiar excellence of this extraordinary vocation consists in this, namely, that as it has God alone for its author, so it enjoys his infallible guidance, for certain extraordinary divine gifts are always attendant on it, so that whoever are thus called by God, have no need to be taught by man, and trained in the things pertaining to the execution of their office; this is clearly seen in the cases of Moses and the Prophets, and of the Apostles and Evangelists.

Ordinary vocation is that which proceeds from man's acting according to laws prescribed by God: of which kind was the Aaronic priesthood and Levitical ministry in the Old Testament, and, in our days, the vocation of Bishops and Presbyters, who,

having in the first instance been admitted by the Apostles as assistants in founding Churches, and set over them for their government when founded, have since been appointed by their successors in regular series to be perpetuated as long as the Church shall last.

Men have no authority for calling any one by an extraordinary vocation without the express command of God. They are in error who imagine that Titus, Timotheus, John, Mark, and other fellow-workers with the Apostles, received an extraordinary vocation, since they were called in no other way than were the rest of the Presbyters and Bishops, whom the Apostles set over the several Churches. Whatever may have been peculiar to them is not to be assigned to an extraordinary vocation, since they had the Apostles and Evangelists for masters and guides in the performance of the Ministry committed to them: for, granting that they were men adorned with rare gifts of the Holy Ghost, yet were they far removed from that certainty

of the faith which was in the Apostles and Evangelists. No Apostle ever gave instructions to a fellow Apostle as St. Paul did to Timotheus and Titus, who discharged their Apostolical office in obedience to the precepts of the Apostles, not according to their own notions, being at once disciples and masters. As they instructed the Churches and the Pastors of Churches in the doctrines of salvation, so they were themselves pupils of the Apostles. The Apostles and Evangelists were taught immediately of God Himself, our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost; so that Paul could say, "that which *I received of the Lord*, the same I also delivered unto you:" but Timothy could only say as we do, what *we have received of the Apostles*, that we deliver unto you. But, although both we and they received from the Lord what we deliver to the Church, the mode of our receiving is different from theirs. They lived with the Lord, and, under the direction of the Holy Ghost, they delivered to the Churches what they had "heard and seen,

and their hands had handled concerning the Word of Life." Titus, Timotheus, and all who have come since, taught and teach what was delivered to us through their hands. Paul had Silas and Barnabas, as well as Timotheus and Titus, for his fellow-workers, but not for disciples, inasmuch as *their* vocation was *extraordinary* and directly from God. Accordingly he gave *them* no directions for governing the Church and discharging their office, as he did give to Titus and Timotheus. Hence I leave it to every one to reflect how great was the distinction between the calling of those and these. Many persons raise a question concerning the vocation of those whom God is pleased to employ in the reformation of Churches, and those who feel embarassed by it have recourse to an extraordinary vocation, but unnecessarily, unless I am greatly mistaken. For any Christian well versed in the Holy Scriptures is both able and ought to attack corrupt and false doctrine concerning the Son of God and the chief Articles of our faith, and, further, all

whom God has so raised up have, with few exceptions, been already in possession of an *ordinary* vocation. These adversaries have, at all events, nothing to object against or reprove in the Anglican Church; for it is able to assert in its defence an ordinary vocation, as can also many Churches in Germany. When impiety has seized on a whole Church, there is no need of an extraordinary vocation in order to its removal: Churches may be reformed by others who possess an ordinary civil authority in the State. We read of many reformations in the kingdom of Judah, which were effected without the creation of an extraordinary civil magistrate or new priesthood. The same priests who had been defiled with gross idolatry, purified at once themselves the temple and the people from all idolatry and impiety. If in these days the Bishops of the Gallican Churches would vindicate themselves and their Churches from the tyranny of the Roman Bishop, and cleanse them from all idolatry and superstition, they would need no other

vocation for so doing than that they have already. The same I assert concerning all Churches, in every part of the world, which the craft of Satan has, in course of time, entangled in divers errors. If they call in to their aid men from our Church, and are pleased to use their advice, they may do so: but otherwise we can arrogate to ourselves no authority over them and their Churches; we may only rejoice in their conversion, congratulate them on it, and offer them the right hand of fellowship.

CHAP. III.

CONCERNING THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

THE Lord selected for the first preachers of the Gospel twelve men, with whom he was pleased to live on familiar terms, and make them privy to his designs and proceedings, according to circumstances, in order that they might afterwards be more competent witnesses of all that they had seen and heard. Their province was at first confined to Judæa itself, for they were forbidden to go to the Samaritans and Gentiles. To their office of preaching the Gospel, the Lord joined the power of baptizing and working miracles. So long however as the ceremonials of the Jewish law existed, and the power of the Aaronic Priesthood remained unrepealed,

they formed no separate Churches, but maintained communion with the rest of their nation in every thing pertaining to the worship of God. What the office of the Apostles was, may easily be learnt from the commands our Saviour gave them after his resurrection, and his promise of the Paraclete recorded by St. John. The words of our Saviour to his disciples are related in the last chapter of St. Matthew, thus; "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world[a]." Here we have the summary of the Apostolic office. First, their mission immediately from God to all nations without prescription of limits: secondly, the promulgation of the doctrine which they had received from God: thirdly, the administration of Sacraments: lastly, the

[a] St. Matt. xxviii. 18, 19, 20.

promise of the Divine assistance, which, although, as regards the Church universal, extended to the consummation of all things, is to be understood, as regards the Apostles, of the peculiar promise which he made to them shortly before his passion. In St. John xiv. and xvi. the gift of the Holy Ghost is promised for the perfect performance of the Apostolic office, Who should so direct their minds, tongues, and speech, that they should deliver, not their own doctrine, but Christ's. Although the office of preaching was committed to many in conjunction with the power of working miracles, it remained the peculiar characteristic of the Apostles that their teaching should be the canon and rule whereby the teaching of all others should be tested, and that they alone, in this infant state of the Church, should confer the Holy Ghost visibly by imposition of hands[b]. As Moses had God for the author of the Law, so was it fitting that the Apostles should have God for the Author of the Gospel, in order that the

[b] Acts viii. 17.

foundations of the Church might remain firm and immovable.

The authority of all the Apostles was one and the same, and the dignity of the Apostleship the same in all: there existed no other distinction between them than what arose from age or degrees of excellence; and although St. Peter is always named first, his primacy lays in the order of vocation, not in superiority of power. If the Apostles had understood a greater authority to have been conferred on him by the words of our Lord, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church," and other similar expressions, they would not have afterwards twice raised a question as to which should be considered greatest among them. Although the Lord admitted Peter, James, and John, on some occasions, to what was kept secret from the rest, yet so impartially did he deal with all twelve, that they knew not which of themselves was to be preferred before the rest. From this high dignity Judas fell by his perfidious and sacrilegious avarice; Matthias

was elected into his place after the Ascension of our Lord; and, last of all, the Lord added St. Paul in a miraculous manner to the company of the Apostles.

CHAP. IV.

CONCERNING THE SEVENTY.

ALTHOUGH St. Paul mentions Prophets in the second place, I remove them into the third, following not so much the order of dignity, as the time of institution of the offices of the New Testament. When the Lord saw that the labourers were few in proportion to the greatness of the harvest, he chose other Seventy Disciples, to preach the Gospel: to whom although he gave the power of performing miracles, and the same right of support from those to whom they preached as he had before given to the Apostles, yet he did not so add them to the Twelve as to form one company with them: for we always read of the Twelve as distinct

from the Seventy, who appear to have been inferior to the Apostles, in that they did not live as familiarly as they with the Lord: for which reason also they could not be witnesses of all the things which He did and spake. If any besides the Twelve were thus privileged, they were Joseph, surnamed Justus, and Matthias; on the latter of whom God caused the lot to fall as successor to Judas. Barnabas, who certainly was not of the Twelve, went through divers countries, and formed Churches as an Apostle. Philip may also be reckoned among those who were thus favoured, and many others who laboured with the Apostles in spreading the doctrine of the Gospel. Since then we read that some were called immediately by the Lord, and given to the Church as Evangelists, who shall we say they were, unless we grant them to have been the Seventy? These then were the *Evangelists*, and inferior to the Twelve Apostles: being assigned, as deputies to commanders in chief, to act in their stead with like authority.

The Apostles associated with themselves many other fellow-labourers: but in none was there the same assuredness of faith as in those whom the Lord himself had called and directed by the same Spirit as the Apostles. We read that Barnabas, Judas, and Silas were next to the Apostles in authority and in zeal for the extension of the Church, for the Holy Ghost had been shed upon them in the same way as on the Apostles, since, when the Holy Ghost descended visibly on the day of Pentecost, there were met together in the same place with the Twelve, all who had been present at the election of Matthias; and although Barnabas was not numbered among the Twelve, he did not therefore cease to be an Evangelist.

Although the authority of Mark and Luke was great on account of the Gospels written by them, yet I do not reckon them among the Seventy Evangelists, because they were called to the ministry of the Gospel by *man*. Tertullian, in his fourth book against Marcion, writes thus; "Luke was not an Apostle, but

an Apostolic man; not a master, but a disciple, and consequently less than a master, or at all events in so far inferior, as he was the follower of an Apostle, who was himself called later than the others. Eusebius[a] informs us, that Papias left in his commentaries the following testimony concerning St. Mark. "Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, wrote exactly whatever he remembered, not indeed in the order in which things were spoken and done by the Lord, for he was not himself a hearer or follower of Christ, but afterwards, as I said, followed Peter, &c. Wherefore Mark by no means erred in committing to writing certain things which he had heard, in the order in which he learnt them, inasmuch as he took good heed not to omit any thing of what he had heard, nor to add any thing that was false."

So wrote Papias. It is well known that Mark was inferior in authority to Barnabas, being his follower, and, as it were, disciple, as well as of St. Paul and St. Peter, and so

[a] Eccl. Hist. iii.

of the same rank with Titus and Timotheus. So great however was his fidelity, and that of St. Luke, in recording what they had received from the Apostles, that their Gospels are reckoned among the Canonical Scriptures, and are equal in authority to those of St. Matthew and St. John: for St. Mark and St. Luke merely lent their aid as amanuenses to the Apostles and Evangelists: so that, whilst the Gospel by St. Matthew is the work of St. Matthew alone, and that by St. John of St. John alone, the Gospels by St. Mark and St. Luke may rather be considered as the work of all the other Apostles and Evangelists together, than of St. Mark and St. Luke alone. Wherein great is the glory due to them, in that they were subject to none of the errors into which ordinary historians fall, but followed the guidance of the spirit of the Apostles and Evangelists, as accurately as these could have done had they themselves been the writers. St. Paul attests this of St. Luke when he says, "And we have sent with

him (Titus), the brother whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the Churches[b]." From what has now been said, it may be understood who were Evangelists properly so called, and who were not.

[b] 2 Cor. viii. 18.

CHAP. V.

CONCERNING THE PROPHETS.

As we admit no one to the company of the Twelve Apostles but St. Paul alone, so no others are considered equal to the Seventy Disciples, of whom we have just treated. For, although God might have added to those Seventy, others in no way inferior to them, even as he added Paul to the Twelve, yet, since there is no evidence in Scripture of his having so done, it would be rash to affirm that he did make any such addition. Since, however, there were others besides the Twelve and the Seventy who received the first-fruits of the Spirit, by what name are they to be distinguished from others not so privileged? Of the hundred and twenty

names who were together on the day of Pentecost, there now remain thirty-six to be accounted for, whom since we may reckon neither with the Twelve nor with the Seventy, we may with good reason call them Prophets. It is to them St. Peter alludes, when in his defence before the people he shews from the prophecy of Joel, that the spirit of prophecy which was to be given in the last days, had just been poured out on the assembly of those whom they marvelled to hear prophesying with divers tongues. These thirty-six, therefore, who can neither be reckoned with the Twelve Apostles nor with the Seventy Evangelists, were the first Prophets given by God to his Church after our Saviour had ascended into Heaven. Ananias of Damascus and Agabus, both celebrated Prophets, were, possibly, of this number. Judas and Silas are also styled Prophets, and were sent by the Apostles with that title to exhort and strengthen the brethren at Antioch. I am of opinion, that these Prophets were really such, and not metaphorically so

called, being endowed by the Spirit of God with knowledge of future events, that they might forewarn the Church of what was needful to be done, and teach by the same Spirit hidden mysteries. For, although all interpretation of Scripture alike be in a manner prophecy, it is the prophecy of Teachers rather than of Prophets strictly so called, and interpreters of Scripture are more correctly called Teachers than Prophets. At this time, however, God revived in his Church the true gift of Prophecy which had often been vouchsafed to Israel from the beginning, and gave to his new people three kinds of Teachers, all under the infallible guidance of his Holy Spirit, namely, Apostles, Evangelists, and Prophets; and these were the first Presbyters and Bishops of the Church of Jerusalem.

CHAP. VI.

THAT THE NAMES OF APOSTLE, EVANGELIST, AND PROPHET, WERE GIVEN TO OTHER PASTORS AND TEACHERS OF THE CHURCH BESIDES THOSE JUST MENTIONED.

ALTHOUGH I have sufficiently explained whom I call Apostles, Evangelists, and Prophets; yet because these names are found to have been given, and not without good reason, to many others, it will be proper to say something of them also. In the Epistle to the Romans, chap. xvi. Andronicus and Junia are named by St. Paul as being "of note among the Apostles;" and in 2 Cor. viii. 23. Titus and the brethren with him are called the Apostles of the Churches. In the Epistle to the Philippians, Epaphroditus is

called "their Apostle." It is well known that the word is of Greek origin, signifying messengers, and though applied to the Apostles as being sent by God, it may be used of persons sent on any account and in any manner. Hence our Saviour, who is the Head and Lord of the Apostles, is Himself also called our Apostle, in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The name is not, however, given in the New Testament, as far as I know, to any but Ministers of the Gospel, between whom since there existed great difference of rank, St. Paul calls the first Twelve, "the chiefest Apostles." "For I suppose I was not a whit behind the very chiefest Apostles[a];" and again, "In nothing am I behind the very chiefest Apostles[b]." Beside then those Twelve "chiefest Apostles" who received their Apostleship immediately from Christ Himself, there were many so called as having been admitted by the Apostles to act as their fellow-workers, or as having been sent by the Church at Jerusalem, which was the

[a] 2 Cor. xi. 5. [b] 2 Cor. xii. 11.

mother of all the Churches. Some, who of their own authority thrust themselves into the office, are called by St. Paul, "false Apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ[c]." These men laboured to their utmost to detract from the authority of St. Paul, because, said they, he had not "seen the Lord in the flesh," contending that his authority was therefore not equal to that of other Apostles, wishing thus to depress him to the lowest and secondary Order of Apostles, that they might be on a par with him in authority, and gain easier reception for their corrupt doctrine. St. Paul zealously defends his authority as an Apostle against these dishonest assailants, affirming that he had received his Apostleship not from man, but of God: which would have been an absurd mode of reasoning, had the name Apostle been common to many who were not of the company of the Twelve, but had been sent "of men and by men[d]," (to use the same expression with St. Paul,) and

[c] 2 Cor. xi. 13. [d] Gal. i. 1.

not immediately by God: among these are to be reckoned Titus, Andronicus, Timotheus, Mark, and several others, styled Bishops and Archbishops in the next age of the Church. The same holds good of the name Evangelist, which was given to many besides those seventy-two already spoken of, as being called by the Church to discharge the same office under them or under the Apostles. Such, although they had not the Spirit in the same measure with the seventy-two, yet contributed greatly, and in proportion to the talents they had received, to build up the Church on the foundations laid by the Apostles. Others then besides the twelve and the seventy-two were called Apostles and Evangelists from the import of the names themselves, and with respect to the Apostolical and Evangelical office in which they were associated as helpers.

[e] The name Prophet, however, is given in Scripture not only to those to whom God reveals future events, but to all faithful

[e] See Dr. Hammond, on Numbers xi. 25.

expositors of the divine Mysteries, who were skilled in rightly applying the old prophecies to particular places, times, and persons. For the term prophecy is extended to all interpretation of Scripture, that being the gift of the same Holy Spirit which had revealed that Scripture to the Fathers: and, accordingly, in this restricted sense, all teachers of the Gospel and interpreters of Scripture may be styled Prophets.

CHAP. VII.

CONCERNING DEACONS.

HAD it been my plan to adhere to the order of dignity in explaining the ranks of the Gospel Ministry, I should notice Pastors and Teachers next to the Prophets; but having resolved to follow the order of time in which they were first instituted, I must treat of Deacons before I come to Bishops and Presbyters: for we read that the distinction of Deacons existed first, the Church having as yet no other Presbyters but the Apostles, and those whom we have just called Evangelists and Prophets. The care of the poor having been connected by our Lord with the Ministry of the Gospel, the Apostles considered it as part of their own

office, until some murmurings of the Greeks against the Jews gave occasion to the appointment of Deacons: who were at first distributors of the common stock produced by the sale believers made of their possessions. Whilst our Lord was on earth, Judas discharged this office; and, if the Apostles could conveniently have attended to it in conjunction with their duties as Apostles, we may be sure they would never have deputed it to others. They did not, however, so completely resign it to Deacons, as thenceforth to consider themselves no longer concerned in it. We read, for instance, that it was enjoined on Paul and Barnabas, that they should remember the poor[a], and we read that they attended diligently to the request. The Apostles ordered then, that seven men full of the Holy Ghost should be chosen, to whom the treasures of the Church and care of the poor might be committed. It is, however, to be remarked, that these men not only attended to the collection and distribution of alms,

[a] Gal. ii. 9, 10.

but appear to have also exercised the office of Teachers. Thus, St. Stephen became the first martyr, whilst earnestly preaching Christ, and disputing with the stiff-necked Jews. St. Philip also preached the Gospel to the Samaritans, and baptized believers. From which two instances we may infer the practice of the rest. For we are not to conclude, that, because nothing is recorded of them, they were therefore inactive in this particular: inasmuch as though we are told nothing respecting the greater number of Christ's Apostles, it is certain that they faithfully discharged the office imposed on them.

The early Church, following the examples of the Apostles, employed Deacons in the ministrations also of the Word and Mysteries. For it was feared lest their functions should fall into contempt, by appearing to be merely a stewardship in things temporal, and unconnected with the sacred Ministry of the Word of God. In order then to increase their dignity, they were authorized to read the Gospel to the people, and deliver the cup in

the celebration of the Lord's Supper. In course of time their importance so increased, that the Bishop neither went any where nor did any thing without his attendant Deacon, rather dispensing with the assistance of a Presbyter than with his. How it has come to pass that this kind of Deaconship has wholly passed away, is not to my present purpose to consider: it is sufficient to have shewn what the office of Deacon originally was. St. Paul requires nearly the same qualifications for Deacons as for Presbyters; and on their first institution, the Apostles directed that men should be chosen full of the Holy Ghost. Whence, since it is evident that the office was one of no slight importance, there is no reason to wonder that something above the mere care of the poor should have been committed to them, in consideration of the gifts of the Holy Ghost which they possessed. These remarks I make in order to shew, that the primitive Churches, and those which now follow their example, were guilty of no absurdity in making the

Deaconship a degree preparatory to that of Presbyter.

Such was the fourth Order of Ministers in the Church of Christ, in respect of time, and the first of human creation, no Presbyters having yet been made in addition to those whom the Lord Himself had given to His Church. Whether it was universally the custom that Deacons should be made before Presbyters, I cannot shew for certain. When St. Paul, in his Epistle to Titus, directs him to "appoint Presbyters[b] in every city," he makes no mention of Deacons; and in the fourteenth chapter of the Acts, where we read that Presbyters[c] were appointed in the Churches by Paul and Barnabas, nothing is said of Deacons. Seeing that higher qualifications were required for the office of Presbyter than for that of Deacon, fit persons for the latter office might more easily be met with than for the former, and the Apostles and Evangelists themselves could better sup-

[b] elders, E. V. πρεσβύτεροι, Gr.
[c] elders, E. V. πρεσβύτεροι, Gr.

ply the place of Presbyters than of Deacons. The distribution of alms being less akin to the peculiar functions of the Apostleship than the ministrations of a Presbyter, and the exigencies of the poor admitting of no long delays.

We need not wonder that St. Paul has made no mention of this office in the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians. It was not his object to give there an exact catalogue of all the Degrees and Orders of the Ministry, but only to set down the most remarkable, whereby are manifested the power of our Lord now reigning in Heaven, and his good-will towards the Church on earth.

That the care of the poor is a sacred duty, was taught by our Lord when he affirmed, that what is done or not done for them, is done or not done to Himself: but this care, owing to the manner in which the reformation of the Church has been effected, is in some nations no longer an ecclesiastical, but a civil, duty. The magistrate has undertaken

the charge of the poor, poor-houses, widows, and orphans, which formerly belonged to the Bishops. How this first came to pass under the Bishops of Rome shall be explained elsewhere. Magistrates, who shall wish to restore the Church to her pristine splendour, will entrust these duties to ecclesiastical men. For it will ever be in the power of the magistrate to punish any frauds or malpractices which they may discover, whereas Bishops and Pastors cannot so superintend the magistrates, or any whom these may depute, should they so err. Magistrates ought to reflect, that they are themselves liable to fail in the same way as they apprehend the Ministers of the Church may do. To minister to the poor is a religious duty, and part of our service to God. And here I have two things to deplore: first, that in several reformed Churches the Deaconship has become merely a temporal and annual office; and, secondly, that the Order of Deaconesses for nursing the sick, of which a shadow is yet preserved in the Romish

Church, has entirely disappeared. In my opinion, it is of very great importance in what way and by what persons the necessities of the poor are relieved in God's household. I am well aware, that the primitive institution had degenerated into superstition, but what will be the end of our present new device? Mankind are more prone to fall from superstition to profaneness, than to keep in the golden mean. To have compassion on the needy, to defend the fatherless children and widows, was formerly the glory of the Church, and the highest praise of her pastors. Why need I here enumerate the noble women, virgins as well as widows, empresses and queens, and sisters of emperors and kings, who, out of piety to God and compassion on the poor, have devoted themselves to these duties under the vigilant superintendence of their Bishops? When I look on our Churches, I cannot but applaud their zeal, who desire to retain the true and proper Deaconship against those who would transfer it, as some common and merely civil office, to men utterly

profane in life and manners, and who would reckon the guardians of the poor as the meanest of their civil functionaries: I grieve that, contenting themselves with the mere name of Deacons, they have not restored the perfect and true Deaconship as it originally existed in the Church. Much remains to be said touching that office, but I must hasten to speak of Presbyters and Bishops.

CHAP. VIII.

THAT THE CHURCH, IN ITS INFANCY, HAD NO BISHOPS AND PRESBYTERS EXCEPT THE APOSTLES AND THEIR FELLOW-LABOURERS.

PRESBYTERS are first met with in the Church at Jerusalem, and are first mentioned in the eleventh chapter of the Acts. As long as the Apostles and Evangelists remained in that Church, there was no need of Presbyters, but on their dispersion, after the beheading of St. James and flight of St. Peter, it began to have Presbyters of its own, whom St. Luke from that time forth always joins with the Apostles who were at Jerusalem: the time and manner of their Ordination does not however appear. Although their Order was

instituted subsequently to that of Deacons, it is superior to this in dignity. That the Churches were, for a time, without Presbyters, is so evident, from the Epistle to Titus and the fourteenth chapter of the Acts, as not to be denied: I cannot, however, ascertain how long this continued to be the case; but I imagine, that the Apostles did not so much regard herein the circumstances of time and place, as the fitness of the persons to be appointed. It would have been inconsistent with their wisdom to lay hands suddenly on any man, or to set over the Church any whom God had not distinguished by those gifts which were required in Presbyters. Since then the Churches consisted of persons newly converted, time was to be allowed for proof of the morals and abilities of those to whom their government might be intrusted: meanwhile all remained under the control of the Evangelists and Apostles, and those whom they had selected as associates in their labours.

The Apostle Paul is consistent with him-

self in all his Epistles, and, accordingly, it is not due to mere accident that he sends greeting to the Presbyters and Deacons in his Epistle to the Philippians only, and in no other. As we hence understand that the Church at Philippi had Presbyters and Deacons, so we are left in uncertainty on this point respecting the others, except so far as the constitution of those Churches may be gathered from the style of writing and mode of address. Great attention is requisite in the reader, who would discern which of them had their own Presbyters and which had not. It is not probable that a writer, who in every Epistle so affectionately salutes all whom he knew to be distinguished by any excellence, and to praise all who had any where deserved well of the Church, no less than to avow what improvement he might desire in others, should have omitted to greet the Presbyters and Deacons where they existed.

In the Epistle to the Romans he salutes many, whom, although he styles them his fellow-labourers, he no where intimates to be

in authority over the Church. He mentions "Aquila and the Church in his house," which, we read, was sometimes at Ephesus and sometimes at Philippi. He likewise mentions Andronicus and Urbanus, saying of the former that he was "of note among the Apostles[a]," and calling the latter his "helper in Christ[b]:" on these, and on all others who had laboured with the Apostles in planting Churches, and whom he knew to be at Rome, he bestows due praise. If any of them had been the peculiar Pastor of that Church, he would have given some intimation of it: as we find him doing in the Epistle to the Philippians[c] in the case of Epaphroditus, and in that of Epaphras and Archippus when he is writing to the Colossians[d]. When he came to Rome, we read that he was received by the brethren, not by the Presbyters, who, had there been such, would certainly have no more been omitted here than in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, where we read, that

[a] Rom. xvi. 7.
[b] Rom. xvi. 9.
[c] Phil. ii. 25. iv. 18.
[d] Col. i. 7. iv. 12.

St. Paul was received by the Apostles and Presbyters. We may hence see what was the condition of the Church at Rome when the Apostle wrote to it.

It may in like manner be shewn from each of the two Epistles to the Corinthians, (not to mention other cases,) that the Church there had not its own Presbyters when those Epistles were written: and for this reason is no mention made of them, namely, that the Apostle was writing to Churches, which, being as yet in their first infancy, and in course of formation, had no other Presbyters than Timotheus, Titus, Apollos, Luke, Stephanus, Fortunatus, Achaicus, and such others as St. Paul sent to them, nor any other Bishop than that Apostle himself. Although there was no lack of Order; it was not the same Order which afterwards existed when Presbyters had been Ordained. Meanwhile, the Apostles, Evangelists, and other pious teachers, visited the Churches in turns, according to their opportunities. Hence it is that we find St. Paul and Apollos excusing themselves

to the Corinthians, for their inability to visit them as often as they wished. All this has been duly remarked by Epiphanius and St. Ambrose. The former, in his work against Heresy, thus speaks: "The Gospel having been but lately preached, the Apostle wrote, when opportunity served, according to the circumstances of each case: where Bishops had been appointed, he wrote to the Bishops and Deacons. For the Apostles could not settle every thing at once; Presbyters and Deacons were requisite; since the perfect discharge of the Ministrations of the Church required these two Orders. Wherever no one was found worthy of the Episcopate, that place remained without a Bishop of its own; but wherever the case required it, and fit persons were to be found, Bishops were appointed; and when, the number of converts being small, proper persons were not found for the office of Presbyter, the Apostles contented themselves with the appointment of only a Bishop[e]." Epiphanius

[e] Hær. 75.

then goes on to add: "Thus the Churches received their complement of Ministers, for they had not every one every thing from the first, but the things required for their perfection were supplied successively and by degrees."

St. Ambrose, in his commentary on Eph. iv. writes thus: "What the Apostle has written, does not exactly tally with the method of Ordination now observed in the Church; the reason being, that he wrote in the very infancy of the Church; for even Timothy, whom he had ordained a Presbyter, he also calls a Bishop, because the first Presbyters were called Presbyters, that on the departure of one, another might succeed in his room. So writes St. Ambrose; and I conclude, that the Apostolical writings are to be understood with reference to the times at which they were written. The Apostles laid the foundations, others built upon them, St. Paul planted, Apollos watered. As time went on, the Church grew, and the numbers of believers so increased, that those whom the

Lord Himself had sent were not sufficient, and, accordingly, the Apostles selected assistants from among the faithful; first Deacons, and then Presbyters; of which latter we have now to speak.

CHAP. IX.

OF PRESBYTERS AND BISHOPS.

NEXT to Evangelists, St. Paul mentions Pastors and Teachers; whether he meant thereby two distinct Orders, or only one, is uncertain, since every Pastor must necessarily be a Teacher, but every Teacher not necessarily a Pastor; for a man may be a Teacher, without yet having the charge of a particular Church as its Pastor. By the three superior titles of Apostles, Prophets, and Evangelists, St. Paul appears to have understood those whose vocation was extraordinary and immediately from God, not from man: but by Pastors and Teachers, (whether we understand two Orders, or only

one,) those who had been appointed by man. It appears from the twentieth chapter of the Acts, that those whom St. Paul calls Pastors were Bishops and Presbyters, for he there tells the Presbyters[a] whom he had summoned from Ephesus, that God had made them Bishops[b] to feed the Church of God. Hence we infer, that every Presbyter and Bishop in the Church of Christ is also a Pastor: for it is the business of a Presbyter to feed the Lord's flock with wholesome doctrine. The Greek word Presbyter, corresponds to the Hebrew זקן, (Zaken,) meaning not only an Elder, or man venerable for his years, but also a person of high rank and authority in the state; it is a title of distinction given in the Old Testament to honourable men and magistrates, and was borrowed thence to denote in the New Testament the rulers of the Church of Christ. They were called Bishops or Overseers (ἐπίσκοποι), from the superintendence and vigilant care which they

[a] Elders, E. V. πρεσβύτεροι, Gr.
[b] Overseers, E. V. ἐπίσκοποι, Gr.

exercised, this being their name with reference to their work and labour, whilst that of Pastor denotes their duty and office of feeding, as we have said, the Lord's flock with the food of heavenly doctrine. There are also many other names given in common to all Ministers of the Church; as, for instance, οἰκόνομοι, stewards; προϊστάμενοι, presidents; προεστῶτες, prelates; ἡγούμενοι, guides; γυβερνήσεις, governors; λειτουργοι, ministers; ὑπηρεται, servants; and διάκονοι, ministers; the peculiar import of which names I leave to be learnt from other sources; intending only to draw from them such arguments as may serve my purpose.

The duties of these men, although their ordination was from man, were not generically different from those of the Apostolic office itself: for the first business of a Pastor under the Gospel is to teach, exhort, reprove, and convince the adversaries of truth; and, secondly, the Ministration of the Sacraments belongs no less to them than it did to the Apostles themselves: finally, the vigilance

required in a Pastor is not without that power of censorship which the edification of the Church may require, since, to use the words of St. Jerome, they succeeded to the place of the Apostles; and in another passage the same Father remarks, "It is no easy matter to stand in the place of St. Paul and in the rank of St. Peter, who are now reigning with Christ."

CHAP. X.

OF THE TWO-FOLD ORDER OF PASTORS.

SEEING, however, that all Presbyters have not the same province nor equal powers allotted to them, some being set over more than others, there is no slight distinction to be made between those to whom Scripture has given these same names of Presbyters and Bishops; and since this distinction is seen on considering their several provinces, not from the names themselves, these being used promiscuously, chief attention is due to their provinces in order to ascertain and distinguish what was distinguished, not so much by names as by other peculiarities. The

first Presbyters whom the Apostles and Evangelists ordained were their own immediate helpers in the work of the Lord; as, for instance, St. John, St. Mark, Titus, St. Luke, Timotheus, Demas, Silvanus, and many others mentioned in holy writ. These were made Ministers of the Gospel by imposition of the hands of the Presbytery, no less than the others who were subsequently set over the Church in every city. What we read concerning Timotheus is to be understood of all. The care assigned to these men was general, not confined to any single Church, for they were the auxiliaries, so to speak, and subsidiaries of the Apostles.

As, however, the multitude of the faithful continued to increase daily, and Churches multiplied, so soon as persons were found competent to discharge the office of Presbyters, such were Ordained in every Church by the Apostles and Evangelists, or by their chosen deputies, and placed as soldiers on their post, to be stationary in their several Churches, and, as faithful Pastors, to watch

each over his flock, under the superintendence of the Apostles. For they were not so appointed as to possess full powers of government, or to rule alone in such manner that the Apostles and their fellows should no longer be concerned in their Churches: but in order that, since these could not be every where and at all times present, nothing necessary to the salvation of a Church might be wanting to it during their absence. If twelve men could have sufficed the Churches, other seventy would not have been added to them by the Lord; and these having become too few for the multitude of believers, both had need of helpers to act in their stead.

Although there be but one Gospel Ministry under Christ, as there was but one Priesthood under Moses, yet, as in that one Priesthood there existed divers ranks, so in the one Gospel Ministry we have now found divers Orders of Pastors and Teachers. We see that two Orders of Gospel Ministers were at the first instituted by our Lord himself, one superior to the other, and afterwards two, in

like manner, by the Apostles, since to some was committed the care of the Churches in a whole state or province, whilst others were set over only single Churches. That Titus and Timotheus had charge of several Churches, and authority over those who should be or already were set over those Churches, is evident from the fact, that Timotheus is admonished to "lay hands suddenly on no man, lest he should be partaker in another man's sins," and is forbidden to receive an accusation against an Elder, except before two or three witnesses. We are thus led, as it were by the hand, to conclude, that two Orders of Presbyters of different authority were instituted under the Apostles and by the Apostles themselves, for the purpose of ruling the Church with them, to which Orders posterity has assigned distinct names, although Scripture has not done so. Although the titles of Pastor and Bishop were originally given to all Ministers of the Gospel alike, the latter name, after the times of the Apostles, became peculiar to the first

and highest Order of Presbyters; these during the lifetime of the Apostles and Evangelists had been honoured by them with the same titles with themselves, as being their fellow-workers, but, out of respect to those preeminent men and pillars of the Church, this was sparingly and but rarely done after their decease.

CHAP. XI.

THE APOSTOLIC WRITINGS DO NOT ACKNOWLEDGE ANNUAL PRESBYTERS, WITH AUTHORITY MERELY TO GOVERN THE CHURCH, BUT UNABLE TO TEACH.

FROM a passage in the fifth chapter of the first Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, wrongly understood, many persons in the present day have fancied a new distinction among Presbyters altogether foreign from the Apostle's meaning, who had not the least intention of distinguishing Presbyters into such as were perpetual, and fed the flock of God with the word, and others who were but temporary, ruling the Church for a year or two. For the writings of the Apostles do not recognize

any Presbyter in the Church of Christ, to whom the description we have already given will not apply. Apostolical Presbyters, as has been shewn above from the twentieth chapter of the Acts, are all Pastors, and Ministers of the word of God. For the Apostle requires above all things in Presbyters and Bishops, that they be apt to teach [a], holding fast the faithful word as they have been taught, that they may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers [b]. Such are the requisite qualifications set down by the Apostle; the notion of Presbyters appointed only for one year, or two, and unable to teach, does not at all suit them.

"Governments," which the Apostle reckons among the gifts of the Holy Spirit, are to be understood of a singular and extraordinary gift. The science of good government is a thing most excellent and rare, which although claimed in the present day by not a few, is found but in few; wherefore I consider that

[a] 1 Tim. iii. 2. [b] Tit. i. 9.

it should be assigned to the highest Order of Presbyters, to the Apostles and Evangelists to wit, and other chief Ministers of the Church in that time, such as were Titus and Timotheus, and many others who held Apostolical authority over several Churches at once.

Utterly, in my judgment, do they err who make this so great gift of the Holy Ghost to reside in the very lowest Order[c] of Presbyters of recent institution, and excluded from teaching, who, obtaining as it were by lot an annual office, hold their Presbytership for a time, and then abdicate it. The Churches of the Apostles' time and those which succeeded them during many ages did not acknowledge any such class of Presbyters in the Ministry.

The Apostles and Evangelists with their coadjutors were superior to the Presbyters of the several Churches solely in their authority

[c] [Saravia, it will at once be seen, here uses the word Presbyter, for convenience sake, to denote the persons styled Elders in dissenting communities. *Trs.*]

to govern. In the Council of the Priests of the Old Synagogue indeed I find Elders who were not Priests: but in the Christian Church I find none associated with the Pastors of Churches but Pastors: nay, in the times of the Apostles, and for many centuries after them, there were no Christian Magistrates who could take counsel with the Presbyters touching matters Ecclesiastical. For those Elders of whom we read in the Old Testament as acting in conjunction with the Priests, were the magistrates of the Jewish people, who could not rightly be excluded from the Council of their Priests in matters pertaining to the external regimen of the Church, no more than in our times the Christian Magistrate is to be wholly shut out from the Synods and Councils of the Bishops of the Church. For although there be two kinds of governments, the one civil, the other Ecclesiastical, yet both are from the same author. And although there be this difference between them, that the former is of God as He is the Creator and Governor of all human

things, the latter of Him as He is the Redeemer of mankind, and each has its own proper end; yet when the Church and the State are one and the same society, then, as the authority of each kind of government flows from the same origin, so they both tend to and terminate in the same end.

Hence they have many things in common, which can never be rightly performed except by common advice and consent. The Minister of the Gospel holds from the Lord our Saviour authority for the government of the Church, the Magistrate holds from the Lord, the Creator of all, authority over his fellow-citizens; and whenever these two are amicably agreed, and have the same ends in view, all is well with the State, all is well with the Church. If there were any other Presbyters set over that Church for its government, besides those I speak of, I should be glad that proof be adduced of the circumstance; hitherto I have not been able to discover any such in the word of God.

The Ministerial offices of the Church are

gifts of the Holy Spirit, and, as it were, talents lent on interest, of which an account must one day be rendered to the Lord. The servant of Christ cannot, at will and of his own caprice, abdicate the office he has once undertaken. "Whosoever having set his hand to the plough looketh back, is not fit for the kingdom of God." I do not read that any ordinary office of the Church was ever temporary. I know that Pastors may be chosen from Deacons; but the assumption of a higher office in the Ministry can in no way be a desertion of that Ministry. The practice of which we have been treating, Tertullian formerly condemned in his Treatise De Præscriptionibus adversus hæreticos, in which he thus speaks: "Their Ordinations are rashly and lightly made, and of temporary force; at one time they admit neophytes, at another, men entangled in worldly business; at another, those who have apostatized from us; and all this in order to attach to their cause by motives of vanity those whom they cannot secure by

love of the truth: now here is promotion more rapidly obtained than in a rebel camp, for merely to be among rebels is to deserve well of them. Accordingly, he who to-day is a Bishop, to-morrow will be some one also; the Deacon of to-day, will to-morrow be a reader; and he who to-day is Presbyter, will to-morrow be a layman, for they impose Priestly offices even on laymen."

CHAP. XII.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF A PASSAGE IN ST. AMBROSE.

THE passage which is commonly adduced from St. Ambrose in defence of the Order of Presbyters, which some reformed Churches now adopt, is nothing to the purpose. For St. Ambrose is there speaking of elders in respect of age, not of office, whom the Bishops and Presbyters used formerly to call into their councils in imitation of the old Synagogue. He does not put them on a par with the elders by office, Presbyters, who ruled the Church of Milan with him; but he complains that men venerable for their age, whom the Apostle forbids to rebuke harshly, were no longer held by the teachers of the

Church in that esteem which had once been paid to them. For in his exposition of the words of St. Paul to Timothy, "Rebuke not an elder, but intreat him as a father[a]," he writes thus; "On account of the honour due to age, an old man is to be incited to good works with mildness, that he may the more readily receive the admonition: for after having been mildly warned, he may fear lest he incur open rebuke, which is disgraceful to an old man. For among all nations old age is honourable; and hence, first, the Synagogue, and since that the Church, has had elders, without whose advice nothing was done in the Church: nor do I see how this practice has become obsolete, except through the remissness of teachers, or rather by their pride, in wishing to appear of importance themselves." Thus wrote St. Ambrose, nothing being farther from his intention than to intimate, that any Order of *Ministers* instituted by the Apostles had been lost: for he had his Presbyters, who ruled the Church with

[a] 1 Tim. v. 1.

him; his words themselves shew clearly that he spoke of elders in respect of age, not of office. I am not opposed to any one who may think, that old and experienced men ought to be admitted into council concerning matters ecclesiastical; but this I maintain, that such are not to be reckoned among the Ministers and Presbyters of the Church ordained by the Apostles; and that they are wrong who imagine the Presbyters or Elders of some reformed Churches in our time, to be of the same class with those whom the Apostles are stated to have ordained, in the fourteenth chapter of the Acts, or those who were summoned by St. Paul from Ephesus[a], of whom and of whose office the Epistles to Timothy and Titus contain an ample description.

The Church, as reformed in England, has officers in every parish, in some degree resembling those Elders, and commonly called Churchwardens, or guardians of the Church property: these have no authority to exclude

[b] Acts xx.

others from sacred rites, but if any person already excommunicate attempt to intrude, they inform the Minister thereof, and so aid to expel him. Their business, as by law defined, is to collect the dues of the Church, to preserve its property, and attend to its expenditures; they must keep the nave and the rest of the building in repair; they, together with the Minister, keep a register of baptisms, marriages, and burials, admonish delinquents and disorderly livers, lay information on oath before the Bishop or his Surrogates of incorrigible infamous and scandalous persons, with a view to their punishment; they are also to observe who absent themselves from divine service on Sundays and Festivals, in order to exact the fines laid by law on such persons, and they ought also to attend to the maintenance of silence and decorum during public worship. If the primitive Church had an Order of Elders with such powers, the ancients, who always kept laics distinct from the Ministers of the Church, did not reckon them among their Presbyters and Bishops.

The Elders who, in Tertullian's Apology, are said to have presided in the assemblies of Christians, were the Bishops and Presbyters, not laics: unless we would set that Father at variance with himself, when he reproaches heretics with imposing priestly functions on laymen.

I must not be understood to blame those reformed Churches, which appear to employ a class of Elders similar to those whose loss S. Ambrose seems to regret. I employed such myself when I held the office of Pastor in some reformed Churches.

For since those who are really Presbyters, being rid of the tyranny of Papist Bishops, also perform the office of Bishops[c], they could

[c] This expression of our Author can by no means be taken to imply his approval of such assumption of the Episcopate by those who though truly Presbyters, having received their Orders of Rome, or otherwise, were not therefore truly Bishops. So to understand his words would be entirely at variance with the whole tenour of this treatise. He can mean merely to state a fact concerning the reformed Churches alluded to, in

not take on themselves alone the entire government of the Church without incurring suspicion of tyranny; and accordingly they have been compelled to unite with themselves pious men chosen from the whole body of the Church, for without such aid from their brethren they could not withstand and check the bad.

order to account for the existence in those Churches of the class of Elders which he rejects from the Order of Presbyters. [Trans.]

CHAP. XIII.

AN EXPOSITION OF I TIM. V. 17. ON THE SENSE OF THE WORDS, "LABOURING IN THE WORD AND DOCTRINE."

No one ought to infer from the Apostle's saying, "Let the Elders who rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine," that there were in the Church Presbyters who did not teach; for labouring in the word and doctrine does not mean one and the same thing, seeing that none were ordained Presbyters by the Apostles who were not fit to teach: but, there being an inequality in the gifts of the Holy Spirit, (for some have

received five talents, and will have to give account to the Lord of five, whilst others have received only two.) to whom much has been given, of the same will much be required. If the sufferings endured by St. Paul in preaching the Gospel, be compared with those of other preachers of the Gospel, we shall perceive of how much greater honour he was worthy than those who laboured less than he. The same will hold good of Presbyters and Bishops, whose toils in the same work of the Lord are by no means all equal. There are some who discharge their duties in ease and peace, instruct the people committed to their care at home, suffer no adversity, and confine their teaching within the limits of their own Church. Others, however, teach not only one flock, but the whole Church, by their learned labours; and not only during the mere span of their own lives, but for many ages after their death, sparing, that they may so do, neither toils, nor watchings, nor their bodily health, nay, nor their very life. Others there are who think the loss of

friends, honours, and worldly substance, a light thing for the Gospel's sake: who encounter dangers innumerable, and endure all shame in order to defend and teach the Gospel of Christ. And these are the persons whom the Apostle appears to me to have had in mind, and not any distinct order of the teachers ruling the Church, and teaching the people of God. The Greek word κοπιᾷν, which he here and repeatedly employs, is properly used of great and painful toils, and it is a mistake to imagine that St. Paul meant nothing more by this word than preaching the word of God; or to think that the distinction between Presbyters was in primitive times only this, that some taught the people, whilst others only governed it for a time, and assisted the Ministers of the word in so doing. It is more consistent with the history of those times, and with the import of the word κοπιᾷν, to understand those Presbyters to be meant, who, like Timotheus, Titus, Tychicus, Mark, Luke, and the other companions of the Apostle Paul, and partners in his toils,

shunned no danger, spared no labour for the propagation of the Gospel. Concerning Timothy, St. Paul writes thus in his first Epistle to the Corinthians: "Now if Timotheus come, see that he may be with you without fear: for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do[a];" whence we perceive, that Timothy was no stranger either to fear or danger. Shortly afterwards, in speaking of Stephanus, Achaicus, and Fortunatus, who had addicted "themselves to the ministry of the saints," he adds, "I beseech you that ye submit yourselves unto such, and to every one that helpeth with us, and *laboureth*[b]." I interpret in like manner, "we beseech you, brethren, to know them which *labour* among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you[c]." In these passages St. Paul has used the word κοπιᾶν, meaning not ordinary but painful and difficult labour. The Apostle's sense therefore is, that the greater and more distressing the troubles

[a] 1 Cor. xvi. 10.
[b] 1 Cor. xvi. 15, &c.
[c] 1 Thess. v. 12.

met by Presbyters in the discharge of their office, the greater the honour in which they should be held: and, accordingly, he referred to the heavier kind of cares which are coupled with numerous difficulties, not to the mere preaching of God's word. When writing to Timotheus, he defines the office of a Bishop to be a work, (ἔργον[d],) whence it follows, that to the higher office of Bishop are attached many and various troubles. If such be the case with him who has charge of only one Church, what must be said of those who have the burden of many, like Timothy, Titus, and other Bishops of this Order? The distinction I have drawn comes to this: Among the Bishops or Presbyters mentioned in Scripture, and who ruled Churches under the Apostles, there were different ranks, by whatever name we please to call them: some were set over single Churches, and were under the control of another; others were over several at once, as is well known to

[d] ἔργον, as is well known, is very commonly used whenever *difficulty* is implied. [Trans.]

have been the case with Timothy, Titus, and others. I am aware that many readers will here say, under the unconscious influence of a biassed opinion, that Titus, Timotheus, and the rest I have named, were Evangelists, and exercised extraordinary powers. To which I answer, that I have often heard and often read this, but never met with satisfactory arguments in proof of it. For St. Paul no more proves Timotheus to have been an Evangelist, properly so called, by bidding him do the work of an Evangelist, than that he was an Apostle in the strict sense of the word, by saying, in the Epistle to the Corinthians, "he (Timotheus) worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do.

CHAP. XIV.

THAT THE ORDER WHICH MAKES THE SUPERIOR PRESBYTERS BISHOPS IS DIVINE; AND THAT A HUMAN DEVICE, WHICH DECLARES ALL PASTORS AND PRESBYTERS TO BE EQUAL.

It has been stated above wherein extraordinary vocation consists, and what its excellence is, and also that we find instances of it in the case of Timotheus and Titus. All ancient writers hold Titus and Timotheus to have been Bishops, to whom Presbyters of an inferior rank were subject: following whose footsteps, the Fathers, in all Churches, who lived next to the Apostles' times, retained this form of government, which they had learnt of the Apostles. In our days it is

imagined, that only two Orders of Gospel Ministers were left by the Apostles, to wit, Pastors and Teachers, and, all distinctions between Pastors being abolished, and the ancient regimen rejected, a new form has been introduced, which is asserted with great boldness to be of divine institution, whilst that which has subsisted down from the Apostles' time is declared to have been a human device. This is a question deserving examination. For it is asserted in reply to all which we have stated concerning Apostles, Evangelists, and Pastors, that the government of the Apostles was only temporary, and ended with the lives of the Apostles and Evangelists, so that now no Pastor ought to rank above another.

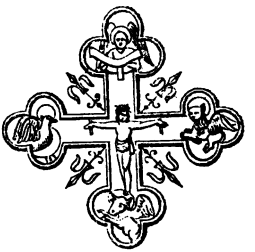
That the truth may the more clearly appear in this matter, we must enquire more narrowly into all the gifts of God which were in the Apostles and Evangelists; that we may discover what was peculiar to the Apostles and their times, and what was to continue common to all other Ministers of the Church

until the end of the world. The first thing to be remarked of the Apostles is their extraordinary vocation immediately from God: then their mission, unlimited: thirdly, that in every thing pertaining to their office, they had the Holy Spirit as an infallible guide, who brought to their remembrance all things whatsoever they had formerly heard of the Lord, and every thing necessary for the salvation of men, and the edification of the Church, so that it was impossible for them to swerve from the truth. Lastly, we must observe the power of Apostleship.

The first three were necessary for laying the foundations of Churches on which others might build, and which, unless possessing a certain stability imparted by the Holy Spirit, would have caused the fall of whatever was afterwards erected on them. I pass by the grace of miracles, because it was not given exclusively to the Apostles and other Pastors of the Church, but to any of the faithful to whom God was pleased to impart it, that they might thereby evince assuredly their

faith in His Son. Of all these gifts the Apostles could communicate to their successors only the ministry of the Gospel; and as this was connected with the power of Apostleship, the latter was transmitted with it: inasmuch as it was necessary, not only for increasing, but for preserving the Churches. No true Church can exist without the preaching of the word of God, the use of the Sacraments, and Ecclesiastical regimen. Just as the preaching of God's word, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, were not given to the Church only for the times of the Apostles, but for all ages until the Lord's coming; so also the form of government which was instituted by our Lord Himself, delivered by the Apostles, and confirmed by the practice of the Fathers, ought also to remain permanently. Now this form recognized superior Pastors and inferior; wherefore the same distinction is still to be preserved in the Church of Christ. Equality as Ministers does not hinder inequality as rulers. Under the Old Testament there was one Priesthood,

the same and equal in all Priests, yet, in point of government, there were different ranks among the Priests, and divers degrees of honour in respect of government, although the dignity of the Priesthood was one and the same in all. It is no objection that the Levitical Priesthood was typical, and shadowed out Christ: since the system of polity and government existing among the Priests and Levites was not so much connected with these types, as with the maintenance of good order, σύνταξία, that all things might be done decently and in order. I infer therefore, that since God Himself was the Author of that system and polity in which one Levite was subject to another, and one Priest to another; the subjection of one Minister of the Gospel to another, and of one Pastor to another, ought not to be called a human institution: for such a system of things is not any more unjust in these days than it was then.



CHAP. XV.

THAT OUR SAVIOUR HAS NOT BY ANY LAW ABOLISHED THE SUPERIOR AUTHORITY OF SOME PASTORS OVER OTHERS.

Our Saviour was so far from abolishing the superiority of some Pastors over others, that He rather established it by appointing superior and inferior Ministers in the first ordination of Ministers in the Church. Nor were his words opposed to this institution, when he said, "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the

younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve, &c.[a]" The true and plain meaning of which words is this: The method of government among you shall be different from that which belongs properly to kings, whether those who exercise a cruel tyrannic sway over their subjects, or those who rule with moderation and law: and this meaning by no means abolishes the distinction of persons, which the law of nature and sound principles of government require. If there is any one passage of the Gospels to be cited rather than another, whereby to prove the preeminence of some Gospel Ministers over others, it is this very one; for, unless our Lord had meant that in the government of the Church some should be above others, He never would have said, "He that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger." He might, in that case, have said briefly and absolutely, No one among you is first, no one of you shall be greatest or chief; but he says, "He that *is* greatest among you, let him be

[a] Luke xxii. 25, 26.

as the younger; and he that *is* chief, *as* he that doth serve:" a precept which can have no place nor meaning in a case where none is to be superior to others. Where all are to be equal, there is no need of giving prominence to a precept enjoining moderation. The sense of the command therefore is, The greater any one of you shall be, with the greater humility let him demean himself among his brethren. Although the Apostles were all of one and the same rank and power, they differed greatly in age and in the gifts of the Holy Spirit; and, accordingly, it could not but happen, that those who had received of the Lord more abundant gifts than others, should also possess greater authority than they: and this St. Paul already shews in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians[b], saying, that he had "communicated the Gospel to them which were of reputation;" and, repeating the same shortly afterwards[c], adds, "they who seemed to be somewhat, in conference added nothing to

[b] Ver. 2. [c] Ver. 6.

Me;" implying, in both passages, that there were some among the Apostles of especial dignity, although "they added nothing to Him." He was far from intending to destroy this inequality, of which the Lord Himself was author: he who has received five talents, must not imagine that he has only two; much less must he to whom only two have been given, set himself up as equal to him who has received five.

Can any reason be adduced why there should be equality of power in government rather than in the other gifts? is it power alone which is abused for the purposes of tyranny? It is all one by whatever gifts any man set himself up as Pope above others, whether by talents, by rare and varied erudition, by sanctity of life, by fastings and other attainments in things external, or by means of wealth and some superior authority with which he may happen to be invested. Our Saviour's answer is, however, of very wide application; nor is it to be restricted to the case of the Apostles only, as though

He there forbade only them to usurp dominion over their fellow Apostles; for he forbids them to exercise tyranny or civil power over whomsoever they might be set. For, however great the power which they were about to receive of the Lord for the edification of the Church, it was to be exercised as by private men among private men[d]. The Lord, therefore, forbids them in this passage κατακυριεύειν to exercise despotic lordship after the manner of kings and princes.

St. Paul, accordingly, writes to the Corinthians, "Not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy[e];" and St. Peter, "Neither as being lords over God's clergy[f];"

[d] "Private," i.e. as regards their civil capacities. [Trs.]

[e] 2 Cor. i. 24.

[f] 1 Peter v. 3. The E. V. reads, *God's* heritage, the former word being in italics, since it is not found in the Greek, which is simply τῶν κλήρων, rendered by the Vulgate and by our author, "*in cleros.*" Schmid, in his Greek Testament, so translates it, and quotes Luther as an authority for that sense, who expounds it by *das Pfarrvolk*, the Pastoral body.

for this the Lord prohibited as unbecoming private men, teaching them rather to soften

Concerning the application of the term κλῆρος to the Clergy, see Joseph Mede's Works, p. 182. edit. fol. 1677, London, who there (Disc. xxxv.) writes as follows:

"From this special title given to Levi, (God's holy one, Levit. xx. 24, 25, 26.) we may note how causelessly some are offended to hear those who minister about holy things, distinguished from others by names of holiness and peculiarity; to hear them called *Clerus* and *Clerici*, the Clergy, as it were, the *heritage of God*; for so saith St. Jerome, *Clerus dicimur, quia sors Dei sumus, We are called Clerus*, or the Clergy, *because we are the lot and portion of God.* But, say they, are not the people also God's heritage? Doth not St. Peter call them κλῆρος, when he forbids Presbyters κατακυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων, *to domineer over God's heritage?* (1 Epist. v. 3.) I confess he doth; but those who reason after this manner come too near the language of Dathan and Abiram, Numb. xvi. 3. *Moses and Aaron, you take too much upon you. Is not all the congregation holy, every one of them? and is not the Lord among them? why then lift ye yourselves above the congregation of the Lord?* If this reasoning had been good, wherein had these rebels offended? It could not be denied them, that *all the people* were *an holy people;* for they might have alleged the testimony of God Himself, avouching them to be his *peculiar people* and an *holy people* unto the Lord their God: *All the earth*, saith He,

fierce tempers by meekness and prayers, even as we find St. Paul repeatedly doing, and

Exod. xix. 5. *is Mine;* but you shall be *My* סגלה, *My peculiar people, a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation.*

But it might be answered then, Though all the people were God's *peculiar people*, and therefore *comparatively His only holy one;* all the land of Canaan was the Lord's, *The land is Mine*, saith He, Lev. xxv. 23, and therefore it could not be alienated before the year of Jubilee, ver. 10; and yet for all this there are some parts of the land specially called *Holy unto the Lord.* God Himself calls them His κλῆρος, His *inheritance*, and therefore gave them unto that tribe alone, which alone He had made His κλῆρος, the tribe of His inheritance. So the *offered* tribe (Numb. viii. 10, 11, 13.) lived of God's offerings, the holy tribe on the holy things. Again, why may we not call our Clergy *God's inheritance*, when God Himself calls the Levites His Levites? *Thou shalt*, saith He, Numb. viii. 14. *separate the Levites from among the children of Israel, and the Levites shall be Mine*; that is, my κλῆρος, my clergy. Why may not we call the Ministers of Christ His κλῆρος, or *inheritance*, when He Himself calls them *the gift His Father gave Him out of the world?* for so He saith, John xvii. 6, *I have declared Thy name unto the men Thou gavest Me out of the world; Thine they were, and Thou gavest them Me:* and again, ver. 11. *Holy Father, keep Thou in Thy name even them whom Thou hast*

particularly when he writes in 2 Cor. i. 20. "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." In other passages, however, the same Apostle speaks more sharply; as 1 Cor. iv. 21. "What will ye? shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love, and in the spirit of meekness?" and in 2 Cor. x. when he mentions the "authority given him by the Lord,"

given Me. If you say He speaks here of all his elect, the words following, ver. 12, prove the contrary; for *those*, saith He, *whom Thou hast given Me I have kept, and none of them is lost but the child of perdition.* Here He plainly affirms, He lost one of those His Father gave Him; wherefore he speaks not of His elect ones, for those no man can take out of His hands. Again, ver. 18, *As Thou didst send Me into the world*, saith He, *so I sent them into the world:* but I hope all the elect are not sent as Christ was sent by His Father. I conclude therefore, so long as God in the Law says specially of the Levites, *They are Mine;* so long as Christ in the Gospel of His Apostles, *They are Mine, O Father, which Thou hast given Me out of the world;* it is neither arrogancy nor injury to style those who minister about holy things by the name of κλῆρος Θεοῦ, *the inheritance of the Lord.*"

he clearly shews that he did not mean merely preeminence in the Church in things pertaining to the kingdom of God. Whence it appears, that the power of government in the Church, by which one Minister of the Gospel surpasses another, was not abrogated by the prohibition of such violent sway as kings may exercise over their subjects, any more than that power which every Pastor has over his flock committed to his peculiar charge. The Lord did not so confound the two Orders of the Apostles and the seventy Evangelists, as to make no difference between them. I am exceedingly surprised that men of learning should be convinced by this passage, that all superior power of Bishops over Presbyters was forbidden: such an assertion cannot be made without casting an imputation on the holy Fathers of old, whom it is a more easy matter to accuse than to convict of tyranny, and whose government of the Churches it is easier to find fault with than to improve. The Lord intended only to remove the error under which the Apostles

were labouring, not to deprive them of the chief power which He had given them, and which He designed them to exercise over the Church and the Pastors of Churches.

CHAP. XVI.

THAT THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED BY THE APOSTLES DID NOT TERMINATE WITH THEIR LIVES.

THERE is neither Scripture proof, nor reason, nor authority of the Fathers, to shew that the form of Church government established by the Apostles ended with their lives. Neither is it any thing to the purpose to assert that the Apostles possessed extraordinary powers: for on the same ground it might be made appear, that no one has in these days authority to baptize or to preach the Gospel. Whatever gifts possessed by the Apostles were extraordinary, could not, it is asserted, be left by them to their successors.

CHAP. XVII.

THAT THE COMMAND TO PREACH THE GOSPEL TO ALL NATIONS IS STILL BINDING ON THE CHURCH, ALTHOUGH THE APOSTLES ARE REMOVED TO HEAVEN: AND THAT APOSTOLICAL AUTHORITY IS NECESSARY THERETO.

THE command to preach the Gospel and the mission to all nations were so given to the Apostles, that they must be understood to be binding on the Church also. The injunction to preach the Gospel to all nations of unbelievers had respect not only to the age of the Apostles, but to all ages to come till the end of the world. In the last chapter of St. Matthew, when the Lord says, that "all power had been given him in heaven and in earth," and commanded the Apostles

to "go and preach to all nations," he added, "And, lo! I am with you alway, until the end of the world:" which cannot be understood as referring to the Apostles only, but to all; our Saviour bidding all be of good cheer, and promising to be with them. This promise cannot be disjoined from the precept preceding, and it consequently appears that Christ commanded his Church to provide that the Gospel should be preached to unbelievers, after the departure of the Apostles, according as opportunities of time, place, and persons, should admit. Had it been designed that the authority of the Apostles should be temporary, it would have been a personal and particular gift, nor would they have associated with themselves fellow-workers in the Apostolical office for the work of the Lord, to which they had themselves been appointed. Knowing, however, that their Ministry, and whatever authority they had received, was given to the Church rather than to any particular individuals, they appointed men to be their partakers in the Apostolical

office, who, they well knew, would also be their successors. A work so great as theirs could not be accomplished by so few as they were. The command of our Lord was binding on the Apostles, so far as the duration of their mortal powers should extend, for that brief period, to wit, which they were to live after receiving the Holy Ghost: but the Lord did not limit to that period his promise of aid, nor the mission to unbelievers. The Apostles had then need of many helpers and cooperators in the work of the Lord, which not being able themselves to finish, they left for their successors to carry on. If the Apostolic commission had departed hence to Heaven with the Apostles themselves, and the Bishops whom they appointed to be their successors had conceived that they were no otherwise concerned in the propagation of the Gospel than by attending to their several Churches, the kingdom of Christ would never have been so extended as it was. Why need I adduce the examples of the Fathers of the Primitive Church? With

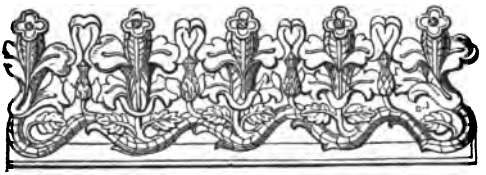
what zeal, with what labour, and finally with what blood of Martyrs, Churches were planted and watered is so well known, that a bare allusion to it must be sufficient. Too great, in my judgment, is their levity and presumption, who, in our days, ridicule as an Anabaptist dream the doctrine that the Church has now, though not Apostles, yet Apostolic men. But let those persons look to it. Even now, after the lapse of fifteen centuries, the Gospel has not yet reached to all nations. I need not enumerate how many, never visited by the Apostles themselves, have in this interval received Christ as the Lord, on the preaching of pious men, the successors of the Apostles in this duty. My conclusion is only this, that their embassy, and the command they received to preach the Gospel, remains in full force, and perfectly binding on the Church, so long as there shall be nations ignorant of the Lord.

The fact that none are now-a-days sent to nations ignorant of the Lord, does not prove that there exists no authority to send them,

but shews a lack of persons fit to be sent: or, at all events, a lack of zeal for the extension of Christ's kingdom. Let no one tempt the Lord. He Himself forbade his Apostles to depart from Jerusalem, and enter on the active discharge of the office to which they had been chosen, before they should have received the Holy Ghost. A man need first be furnished with the gifts of the Holy Ghost necessary to so great an undertaking, before he attempt it. But inasmuch as the judgment of an individual may be rash and erroneous, it is requisite that the Church interpose its authority; for since Apostolical authority is necessary herein, if the Church have it not, neither has she authority to send men, however capable she may find them. No one can confer on another what he himself has not. The person who is sent (call him Apostle, Evangelist, or Bishop, as you please) needs no less authority, than that given to Timotheus or Titus when they undertook the like office.

The Church hath therefore this authority,

and it is denoted by the keys, which the Lord gave not so much to Peter and his colleagues as to the Church, that the Church might at all times do what it could do then, commit, namely, to fit persons the commission to preach the Gospel with Apostolical authority.



CHAP. XVIII.

THAT APOSTOLICAL AUTHORITY IS NO LESS NECESSARY FOR MAINTAINING AND CONFIRMING CHURCHES ALREADY EXISTING, THAN FOR PLANTING NEW ONES.

SINCE, however, Apostolical authority is no less necessary for maintaining and confirming Churches already established than for planting new ones, we must consider this point also: for in the present day a controversy is raised hereon, because we have no longer the Apostles among us, but Bishops and Archbishops, Primates and Metropolitans. I have often wondered what

can have induced pious and learned men to think, that the office of the Apostles and Evangelists has ceased in the Church, and that there are now no Pastors and Bishops with Apostolical authority, to whom the brotherhood of the Presbytery is subject in things pertaining to the good government of the Church; for they hereby make the authority of the Apostles to have been in such a sense extraordinary, as not to have been transmitted to their successors. The circumstance that the names Apostle and Evangelist have not been retained by the Church, is no sufficient proof that the authority has vanished with the names. If any one will diligently examine the last days of the Apostles, and of St. Paul in particular, he will easily find, that the Apostolic regimen cannot have ended with the Apostles themselves. We may judge of the other Apostles by what Holy Scripture tells us concerning St. Paul, since there is no doubt but that they resembled him, and were anxious for the Church of Christ to their latest hour,

whenever it was that He removed them from this life to His kingdom in Heaven. The second Epistle to Timothy, written by St. Paul towards the close of his life, evidences the care which he even then exercised over the Churches. In it he makes mention of his fellow-workers, some of whom he states that he had sent to different Churches, and others he summons to him as necessary for the same office; as though, being now on the eve of his departure from this life, he would give them his last instructions concerning every thing connected with the welfare of the Church, and expedient for further edifying the many which were but newly founded. This his last will and testament he wished to commit to them: but it would have been a vain wish, if the Apostolic authority was to end with himself, or to be confined within the limits of the districts each of those whom he summoned, had already under his care. For all whom St. Paul there mentions, such as Titus, Mark, Luke, Crescens, Tychicus, Timotheus him-

self, and many others, were St. Paul's coadjutors in his Apostleship: to them he had committed the care of many Churches, nor can they all, like the Demas he mentions, have cast it off during his life, much less after his death. They became then heirs (as they had before been partners) of the Apostle's labours and authority. No doubt but the other Apostles had in like manner their companions and helpers, to whom at their departure they committed the care of the Churches with the like authority. Now the authority with which these the immediate successors of the Apostles carried on the work of the Lord, could no more expire with them than with the Apostles themselves, so long as the Church had any existence. As they succeeded the Apostles, so were they succeeded by others, to whom if they did not themselves commit the trust they had received from the Apostles, the Church, inheriting the Apostles' authority, committed it.

Let it however be supposed, for argu-

ment's sake, that the case was not as I have stated; suppose that the Apostles left Presbyters and Teachers with equal powers, each having the charge of only one Church; and suppose that the province of each was bounded by the limits of his Church; what was to become of those other Churches, to whom the Apostles, and those who had governed with them, being dead, could not ordain Teachers? Did their death happen so opportunely, that every Church had at that very moment its Pastor and Teacher, and that not one remained unformed, with its foundations only laid, without Deacons or without Teachers, which yet was the condition of the Churches of Crete for some time even under the Apostle Paul? Who carried on the unfinished work? Was there no need of some Timotheus or Titus to complete what remained to be done? Whilst the Apostles themselves were yet alive, it was necessary for the largest powers to be given to Titus, and Timotheus, and many others: and what was likely to be the case

after their death? Either the work commenced by the Apostles must have been abandoned, or it must have been carried on by those whom they left as their successors.

CHAP. XIX.

CONFIRMATION OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTER FROM THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF EUSEBIUS.

EUSEBIUS[a] writes on this subject as follows: "That Paul preached to the Gentiles, and established Churches from Jerusalem and around as far as Illyricum, is evident both from his own expressions, and from the testimony of Luke in the book of Acts. And in what provinces Peter also proclaimed the doctrine of Christ, the doctrine of the New Covenant, appears from his own writings, and may be seen from that Epistle we have mentioned as admitted in the Canon, and

[a] Hist. Eccles. iii. c. 4.

which he addressed to the Hebrews in the dispersion throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. But how many and which of these, actuated by a genuine zeal, were judged suitable to feed the Churches established by these Apostles, it is not easy to say, any farther than may be gathered from the writings of Paul. For he, indeed, had innumerable fellow-labourers, or, as he himself calls them, fellow-soldiers in the Church. Of these, the greater part are honoured with an indelible remembrance by him in his Epistles, where he gives a lasting testimony concerning them. Luke also, in his Acts, speaking of his friends, mentions them by name. Timothy, indeed, is recorded as having first received the Episcopate at Ephesus, as Titus, also, was appointed over the Churches in Crete. But Luke, who was born at Antioch, and by profession a physician, being for the most part connected with Paul, and familiarly acquainted with the rest of the Apostles, has left us in two inspired books, the institutes of that spiritual

healing art, which he obtained from them. One of these is his Gospel, in which he testifies that he has recorded, "as those who were from the beginning eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word," delivered to him, whom also, he says, he has in all things followed. The other is his Acts of the Apostles, which he composed, not from what he had heard from others, but from what he had seen himself. It is also said, that Paul usually referred to his Gospel, whenever, in his Epistles, he spoke of some particular Gospel of his own, saying, "according to my Gospel." But of the rest that accompanied Paul, Crescens is mentioned by him as sent to Gaul. Linus, whom he has mentioned in his Second Epistle to Timothy as his companion at Rome, has been before shewn to have been the first after Peter that obtained the Episcopate at Rome. Clement also, who was appointed the third Bishop of this Church, is proved by him to have been a fellow-labourer and fellow-soldier with him. Beside, the Areopagite, called Dionysius, whom

Luke has recorded in his Acts to have first believed after Paul's address to the Athenians in the Areopagus, who is mentioned by another Dionysius, an ancient writer, and pastor of the Church at Corinth, as the first Bishop of the Church at Athens."

The same Eusebius, in the same Book[b], hath these words:

"There were many others, also, noted in these times, who held the first rank in the Apostolic succession. These, as the holy disciples of such men, also built up the Churches where foundations had been previously laid in every place by the Apostles. They augmented the means of promulgating the Gospel more and more, and spread the seeds of salvation and of the heavenly kingdom throughout the world far and wide. For the most of the disciples at that time, animated with a more ardent love of the divine word, had first fulfilled the Saviour's precept by

[b] The reference in the original is to the 31st chapter, but it is the 37th in the Amsterdam edition of Eusebius, pub. 1695.

distributing their substance to the needy; afterwards, leaving their country, they performed the office of Evangelists to those who had not yet heard the faith, whilst, with a noble ambition to proclaim Christ, they also delivered to them the books of the holy Gospels. After laying the foundation of the faith in foreign parts as the particular object of their mission, and after appointing others as shepherds of the flocks, and committing to these the care of those who had been recently introduced, they went again to other regions and nations, with the grace and co-operation of God. The Holy Spirit also wrought many wonders as yet through them, so that as soon as the Gospel was heard, men voluntarily in crowds, and eagerly, embraced the true faith with their whole minds."

So writes Eusebius. And I might here adduce instances from the same author, and from other ecclesiastical historians, of Bishops sent at different times by Churches for the conversion of nations, who must necessarily have had an authority equal to that which

Titus and Timotheus received from the Apostle St. Paul. The expedient of having recourse to an extraordinary vocation, in which people indulge when they feel hard pressed by such reasons as I have urged, is quite unreasonable: an ordinary Ministry having been established in the Church, to allege an extraordinary vocation, except the surest proofs can be furnished of its being such, is to introduce a very bad precedent.

If we carefully consider the condition of the Churches throughout the world when the Apostles were called from it, we shall find, that in most places they left some Churches well formed and wanting in nothing; that is to say, each under its own Bishop; such were the seven Churches of Asia, which the Spirit of God addresses in the Apocalypse; they left also others as yet unformed, and in their first infancy, wanting many things, some more, others fewer, according to the circumstances of time, place, and the greater or smaller number of those who had received Christ. We shall further remark, that there

were innumerable places which the Apostles had not been able to visit, and in which there were no Churches at all. Wherever and whatever these were, they all received and acknowledged the Apostolical form of government, to which if no one had succeeded in the room of the Apostles, and with the like authority, they must have been left widows and orphans, which it is absurd to assume. If, on the other hand, it be asserted, that the form of government to which they had been used under the Apostles was altered; I reply, that that could not have been done without the ruin of those Churches.

Hence I infer, that the Apostolical authority was bequeathed by the Apostles to those whom they had set over the several Churches as their successors, which they did, as well for the purpose of confirming those which were already complete, as for perfecting those which were as yet incomplete, and for planting new Churches where there were as yet none. For this reason, St. Paul, when about to leave this life, dispatched Crescens into

Galatia, and Titus into Dalmatia, and sent for Timotheus with Mark, whom he judged to be useful and necessary for the Ministry of the Church. As our Lord, when about to leave this world, provided for the disciples, so the Apostles made provision for the Churches which they had founded and gathered, and knew would yet be gathered from among the Gentiles: otherwise the Church would never have received such great accessions as it did after the Apostles' times. It is to be deplored, that the Apostolic zeal is now so chilled, that no one thinks of propagating the Gospel among the heathen.

Since then the Apostles left very many Churches in an unfinished state, and many more to be begun from the foundations, it was the authority given them by the Lord which was to carry on this work of converting the heathen, which they had only commenced. Hence it necessarily follows, that this Apostolical authority, given by our Lord to the Apostles for the edification of the Church, must still remain in the Church, and

that the office of Apostolic government, as it was formerly given to certain Bishops, may still be given where it has not yet been bestowed, and is to be left untouched with such Bishops as have already received it. If any one be desirous to see a reformation of the Pastoral body, I do not oppose him. The Church still holds, as it has always held, the power of regulating this authority; but with this limitation, that none are to be excluded from the Christian magistracy to whom God has already given it, for such persons correspond to those elders so frequently mentioned in the Bible as associated with the Priests and Levites in important matters, being the representatives of the whole people.

CHAP. XX.

THE AUTHORITY OF BISHOPS OVER PRESBYTERS IS PROVED BY THE UNANIMOUS CONSENT OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

I CONSIDER, that what has been maintained by all Churches throughout the world down from the times of the Fathers and Apostles, must be an Apostolical canon and immutable. It is no light matter to abrogate observances sanctioned by so great and universal consent: the departure from it, independently of the rashness of the proceeding, will entail much greater mischief on the Church than most men suspect, and such as it will not be possible hereafter to remedy. Among the

ancient Canons, which owing to great antiquity have been ascribed to the Apostles, we read the following[a].

"It behoveth the Bishops of every nation, duly to recognize him who is chief among them, and to look upon him as their head, and to attempt nothing of great or extraordinary import without his concurrence: individually, each is to busy himself solely with what concerns his own district and its dependencies. But not even within their own Dioceses may individual Bishops do any thing which is not sanctioned by the concurrence of all: for thus will unanimity be preserved, and God will be glorified through the Lord in the Holy Ghost."

This Canon was re-enacted, with some slight

[a] Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλήν· καὶ μηδέν τι πράττειν περίττον ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης· ἐκεῖνα δὲ μόνα πράττειν ἕκαστον ὅσα τῇ αὐτοῦ παροικίᾳ ἐπιβάλλει καὶ ταῖς ὑπὸ αὐτὴν χώραις. Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄνευ τῆς πάντων γνώμης ποιείτω τι· οὕτως γὰρ ὁμόνοια ἔσται, καὶ δοξασθήσεται Θεὸς διὰ Κυρίου ἐν Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι.

variation of expression, in the Council of Antioch, as follows[b].

"The Bishops in the several Dioceses must know that their Metropolitan is charged also with the care of all the province, for in consideration of the great concourse of people from all parts of each province to the metropolis, for the purposes of business, it has seemed fit that he should have precedence in honour over the other Bishops, and that these, agreeably to the ancient Canon of our

[b] Τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει πανταχόθεν συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς πράγματα ἔχοντας, ὅθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν, μηδέν τε πράττειν πέριττον τοὺς λοίπους ἐπισκόπους ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον κρατήσαντα τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα, ἡ ταῦτα μόνα ὅσα τῇ ἑκάστου ἐπιβάλλει παροικίᾳ, καὶ ταῖς ἐπ' αὐτὴν χώραις, ἕκαστον γὰρ ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας, διοικεῖν τε τὴν ἑκάστῳ ἐπιβαλλούσαν εὐλάβειαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι πασῆς τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν, ὡς καὶ χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως ἕκαστα διαλαμβάνειν· περαιτέρω μηδὲν πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν δίχα τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου· μηδὲ αὐτὸν ἄνευ τῆς τῶν λοίπων γνώμης.

forefathers, should do nothing of great or extraordinary moment without his concurrence, but only those things which pertain to their several districts with their respective dependencies: for let every Bishop have power over his own district, and rule it with the greatest caution and piety that he can, and take care of the whole country depending on his see, ordaining its Presbyters and Deacons, and ordering every thing with judgment; beyond this let him do nothing without the advice of the Metropolitan Bishop, and the concurrence of his brother Bishops."

In the Canon thus re-enacted, I observe two things; first, its antiquity; next, that it shews that the power spoken of had not *always* belonged to the Metropolitan Bishop, since the reason is given why ecclesiastical controversies are to be referred to him rather than any other Bishop; a regulation which, as it does not appear in the Apostolical Canon, would seem not to have been always known to the earliest age of the ancient

Church. Yet the antiquity of the practice is attested by cap. 7. of the Nicene Council[c].

"Let the ancient usages prevail, which have been observed in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, so that the Bishop of Alexandria have chief power and dignity over all those regions, since this custom also prevails at Rome. In like manner let the authority and dignity of the Primacy be upheld in the Churches dependent on Antioch. As regards the whole matter, it is very evident and certain, that if any one be made a Bishop without the concurrence of the Metropolitan, this great Council has decided that such a one ought not to be a Bishop."

Thus much the Canon, which it is easy to confirm by many Canons of other Councils,

[c] Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πεντεπόλει· ὥστε τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥωμῇ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο συνηθές ἐστιν. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιοχείαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Καθόλου δὲ περίδηλον ἐκεῖνο ὅτι εἴ τις χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ μητροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπισκόπος τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡ μεγάλη συνοδὸς ὥρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον.

and from ecclesiastical histories, whereby the opinion of all the ancient Fathers on this subject is clearly seen. It is erroneous to suppose, as some do, that the institution of Patriarchs and Archbishops was a device first broached by the Council of Nice, or, as others say, by the first Council of Constantinople. For the Council of Nice, which was assembled about the twentieth year of the reign of Constantine the Great, asserts, that it enjoins nothing new, but orders an ancient custom to be maintained. It was no novelty for some one Bishop to have a certain definite authority over the rest of his brethren.

To those who assert that it belongs only to Apostles or Evangelists to preside over many Churches of different states and provinces, and that no one can be at the same time an Apostle, Evangelist, and Bishop, because these are distinct offices; we may reply, that, until our days, no one has either so thought, or so written. The Fathers have left on record, as a fact received from their predecessors, that St. James the Apostle was

appointed Bishop of Jerusalem. The just, adequate, and necessary reason for which was, that the Churches needed it. For, since Jerusalem was the mother of all the Churches, and the Jews flocked thither from all parts of the world; it was not expedient that it should be without an Apostle for its president, so long as it could have one, to settle the controversies which might from day to day arise among the brethren. Otherwise it certainly was the business of the Apostles to go from nation to nation preaching the Gospel, so that nothing but the necessity of the case could induce them or any one of them to fix his residence in one place. Exactly in the same way then as Apostles discharged the office of Bishops when they undertook the care of any particular Church, the interest of the Church universal so requiring, and thought they did nothing inconsistent with their calling as Apostles, nor confounded it with the Episcopal office; so neither is it to be deemed unreasonable that, the good government of the Church so requiring, what be-

longed properly to Apostles, should be transferred to Bishops, as we know to have been done in the case of Titus and Timotheus.

Since, however, the Canon ordains, not that a divine institution, but that an ancient usage, shall be maintained, this power of the Patriarchs seems to some people rather to have crept unawares into the Church from the force of custom, than to have originated in a Divine appointment, or in Apostolical tradition. I answer, that the Canon does not deny that the Apostles left to the Church Apostolical power, for the government of Churches; that, however, such and such particular Churches, as that of Antioch, that of Alexandria, that of Jerusalem, or that of Rome, should have this power in a more especial way than others, did originate in the usages and regulations of the Church itself. For the Bishops of those places did not, like the Apostles, receive their authority immediately from God, but from the Church, and through the Church; and as the Church is not limited to certain places, nor to certain

Bishops, neither is the Apostolic power so limited as not to be transferable for just and sufficient reasons.

The Council of Nice, or any other like it, might have transferred the Patriarchate of the Bishop of Rome to the Bishop of Ravenna, of Aquileia, or of any other see, had there been good grounds for so doing; and I assert the same concerning the Patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria. The Councils of Bishops clearly shewed this, by considering the Bishop of Constantinople equal in all respects to the Bishop of Rome; whence it sufficiently appears, that the prerogative in Apostolical power was not restricted to certain successors of Bishops, but depended on the advantages possessed by particular cities. The appeal to established usage does not then imply that the institution was not divine.

To return, however, to the immediate successors of the Apostles and Evangelists, Titus, Timotheus, and the others mentioned in the Scriptures as having been the chosen

coadjutors of the Apostles, ancient tradition asserts these to have been Bishops, and each Bishop over several Churches. For there is no inconsistency between acting as a Bishop, and at the same time doing the work of an Apostle and Evangelist. It is the unanimous opinion of the Fathers, that the offices of Bishop and Apostle are one and the same, except that the latter is invested with fuller and more extensive authority. Cyprian writes thus[d]; "The Deacons must remember that the Lord chose Apostles, that is to say, Bishops and Governors, whereas the Apostles appointed Deacons after the ascension of our Lord into Heaven." From which words of Cyprian we perceive, that the Episcopacy is an Apostleship, just as the Apostleship was an Episcopate.

St. Peter, himself an Apostle, calls the Apostleship of Judas his Bishopric[e]. And so S. Augustine, writing as follows; "All know that the Saviour appointed Bishops in the Churches; for, before ascending into

[d] Epist. x. [e] Acts i. 20.

Heaven, He ordained His Apostles to be Bishops, by laying His hands on them[f]." St. Ambrose also has left the following comment on the passage in the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, in which the Apostle says, "He gave some Apostles, &c. By Apostles are meant Bishops, and Prophets are the interpreters of Scripture, an Order which may now be formed in the Presbyters: for in the person of a Bishop all Orders are united, seeing he is the first, that is to say, the chief of the Priests, a Prophet, an Evangelist, and whatever else is required in the offices of the Church for ministering to the faithful."

Theodoret remarks on 1 Tim. iv. "Formerly the same persons were called Presbyters and Bishops, and those whom we now style Bishops were called Apostles: in process of time the name Apostle was left to such as really were Apostles, whilst the name of Bishop was substituted for that of Apostle: thus Epaphroditus was the Apostle of the Philippians,

[f] Novi Test. Quæst. 14.

Titus of the Cretans, and Timotheus of the Asiatics."

The Fathers, who came next to the times of the Apostles, judged that the regimen received from the Apostles was not to be altered: but they certainly would have altered it, had they thought that the form, of which they had models in Timotheus and Titus, had been merely temporary and extraordinary. For it surely is not in the least probable that Timotheus, Titus, and whoever else had received from the Apostles the like office with them, could have been ignorant of this liberty had it existed. S. Augustine, in expounding the passage of Psalm xliv, "Instead of fathers thou shalt have sons," interprets it of the succession of Bishops in the room of the Apostles. Were not the audacity, which would deny that the ancient Church had Bishops and Primates from the very times of the Apostles, so great as it manifestly is, and were it not a kind of superfluous officiousness to prove a thing so evident, I would stop to quote many others of the Fathers. But this

is not controverted; the question is, whether the Order of Bishops, which has arisen in the Church rather from custom than from our Lord's positive institution, be divine or human. Let us proceed then to decide this question from data agreed upon by all parties.

CHAP. XXI.

THAT BISHOPS WERE ORDAINED AGREEABLY TO DIVINE INSTITUTION AND APOSTOLICAL TRADITION.

It is certain, that the Apostles ordained nothing in the Church which they had not received of the Lord; but they created Bishops, such as were Titus and Timotheus, wherever there was need of them: for had not the Apostles, when dispersed over the world, appointed Bishops, there would never have existed so great and universal consent respecting Episcopacy. Seeing how widely the Churches were scattered over the world, and how remote many were one from the other, it would have been wonderful if not

one had retained that regimen, which is in our day fancied to be divine, and may be seen in some reformed Churches. It could not but happen that Churches should differ in unimportant matters, concerning which no certain directions had been left to them by the Apostles; but it certainly would have been the greatest of miracles, that they should have all simultaneously and unanimously agreed in altering the form of government which had been delivered to them by the Apostles.

All the orthodox have believed that they were herein following an Apostolical tradition and divine institution. Irenæus writes as follows[a]: "All who will listen to the truth may clearly find in the Church an Apostolical tradition manifest throughout the world; and we are able to enumerate those who were appointed Bishops in the Churches by the Apostles, and also their successors down to our own times, who never taught nor knew of any such things as these [the heretics, of

[a] Lib. iii. cap. 3. adv. Hæres.

whom he is speaking] madly imagine." From these words of Irenæus it appears, that that must be an Apostolical tradition, and divine institution, which has been received in all the Churches founded by the Apostles. Now the Episcopal Order has been every where received by all Churches, wherefore it is an Apostolical tradition, and divine institution.

Cyprian says[b], "Whence have schisms and heresies arisen, and whence do they still arise, except from the proud and presumptuous contempt which some persons shew towards their Bishop, who is one, and presides over the Church? Have they not arisen even from this, that unworthy men presume to judge a man who has been honoured by God?" &c. The same author, in his 27th Epistle, (following the order of his Epistles,) infers from the passage in St Matthew, "Thou art Peter, &c." that, consequently, the Order of Bishops and the plan of the Church has ever since been such, that through a perpetual succession of times and

[b] Lib. iv. Epist. 9.

persons, the Church has continued to stand upon a foundation of Bishops who have governed all its acts. Since therefore this institution is of divine origin, I wonder that men should be found who think that the office of the Apostles and Evangelists has ceased in the Church, and that there are now no Pastors and Bishops with Apostolical authority, to whom the brotherhood of the Presbytery is subject in things pertaining to the good government of the Church.

CHAP. XXII.

THAT THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A PRESBYTER AND A BISHOP WAS THE OPINION OF AERIUS, WHICH WAS CONSIDERED A HERESY BY THE FATHERS.

We have now heard how it has been always held, that the authority of Bishops was an honour conferred by God, and resting on a divine law. It is further to be observed, that unless the orthodox Fathers had believed Episcopacy to have been sanctioned by the word of God, they never would have reckoned as a heresy the opinion of Aerius, who first asserted, three hundred years after the times of the Apostles, that there is no differ-

ence between a Presbyter and a Bishop. Concerning whom Epiphanius writes, that his speech was that of a frantic person, rather than of a rational man; reporting that he was also wont to say, "What is a Bishop compared with a Presbyter? he in no way differs from him: for the Order is one and the same, the honour the same, the dignity the same. The Bishop as the laying on of hands, and sits in a throne; the Presbyter also sits in a throne." So spoke Aerius. Epiphanius shews on the contrary, first, that the Bishop makes the Presbyter, not the Presbyter the Bishop. "The Episcopal Order, says he, is the begotten of fathers, for it begets fathers to the Church; but the Order of Presbyters cannot beget fathers; it indeed begets sons to the Church, by the regeneration of the Bath, but not fathers and teachers. For how can he make a Presbyter, who has not the power of imposing hands for their appointment?"

To the pretended reasons of Aerius he replies, that "that teacher had been misled

by his own trifling and contentious disposition, and by his i norance of ancient history, not knowing, that, when first the Gospel was preached, the Holy Apostle wrote only as emergencies required. Where Bishops had been already appointed, he wrote to the Bishops and Deacons, for the Apostles could not order every thing at once; both Presbyters and Deacons were requisite for the completion of a Church. Where however no one was to be found worthy of the office of Bishop, the place remained without one: where Bishops were necessary, and fit persons could be found, they were appointed. Since however the number of persons fit for sacred offices was not great, if none were to be found proper for the office of Presbyters, the Apostles were obliged to be content with merely a Bishop, and as a Bishop must not be without his Deacon, they took care that every Bishop should have his Deacons. Thus the constitution of every Church was completed gradually, as the circumstances of time and place might require. For every

thing was not complete from its first beginning, but in progress of time, those additions were gradually made which were necessary to perfection: &c."

All this Epiphanius confirms by the case of the people of Israel under Moses, who built up their polity not in one day, but gradually; and as he would have erred who, under the Jewish dispensation, should have attempted to reform the Church of Israel, by remodelling it after the plan in which it had existed, when as yet in an imperfect and unfinished state; so do they now err, who would place the Church on the footing on which it was in its commencement, and incomplete form. Epiphanius accordingly concludes as follows:

"So was it with what we read in the Apostles, until the Church was extended, until it had attained its full proportions, until it came to be perfectly settled in its government, and fully furnished with wisdom, by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Epiphanius understood that many

things were as yet wanting, and that, after a time, a Presbyter differed from a Bishop, arguing from what St. Paul wrote to Timothy, who was a Bishop, "Against a Presbyter[a], receive not an accusation except before two or three witnesses;" whereas he never said to any Presbyter, Against a Bishop receive not an accusation, &c.

The opinion of Epiphanius is confirmed by St. Augustine, who reckons this error of Aerius among the heresies.

[a] There is a manifest inconsistency between this passage, and what the author had advanced in chap. xii. Beza, in his Reply to the Treatise, did not notice this inconsistency on our author's part, but asserted, that Epiphanius had misapplied the text, and that he ought to have remarked, that in it πρεσβύτερος means an elder in years only, not in office. "Animadvertere Epiphanium oportuit Presbyterum, id est Seniorem hìc dici, qui ætate sit provectior, non qui Pastoris, Doctoris, vel Presbyteri munere fungatur, quod manifestissimè ostendit τῶν νεωτέρων mox sequens antithesis."

Saravia in his Defence, in answer to Beza's Reply, simply admits that Epiphanius was mistaken. Hic hallucinatum fuisse Epiphanium fateor, et deceptum ambiguitate vocis Presbyteri. [*Trans.*]

CHAP. XXIII.

AN OPINION OF ST. JEROME'S REFUTED.

In reply to an objection which is adduced from St. Jerome's Commentary on Tit. i. namely, that Bishops are above Presbyters rather by human custom, than by virtue of our Lord's institution, &c. I observe, that this was the private opinion of St. Jerome, agreeing with that of Aerius, and contrary to the word of God. It will be proper, however, to sift his arguments, lest we should appear rashly to disagree with him, and those learned and pious men who adopt his notion. St. Jerome says, " Before divisions arose in the Church by instigation of the Devil, and

before it was said among the nations, I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, Churches were governed by the common advice of the Presbyters: when, however, each had baptized his several disciples, and had begun to look upon them as his own, not Christ's; it was agreed throughout the world, that one Presbyter should be elected from among the rest, and set over them, to have charge of the whole Church, and for the eradication of all seeds of schism." As to his assertion, that the Churches were at first governed by the common advice of the Presbyters, I do not deny it, but it cannot thence be proved, that the subsequent appointment of Bishops as heads of the Churches was not part of our Lord's institution, no more than it can be proved that Presbyters and Deacons were not ordained by the Apostles, with a divine ordination, because, before the appointment of those Orders, the Churches were ruled by the Apostles with the help of Deacons, and without Presbyters. Every one knows, from the Epistle of St.

Paul to Titus, that the Apostles governed the Churches themselves with the aid of some few of their fellow-workers, before they ordained Presbyters; and whoever possesses the least discernment may easily perceive, that, in those first commencements of things, so long as the Apostles could themselves visit the Churches, there was no need of other Bishops besides them. Presbyters were sufficient, and might be very well styled Bishops, so long as there were no other Bishops, properly so called, but the Apostles. I allow then that there was a time, when the Churches were governed by the common advice of the whole community of believers; as, for instance, in Crete, in Corinth, and in Rome, before the creation of Presbyters; but these Churches having afterwards received Presbyters, like the Church of Philippi and that of Ephesus, were thenceforth governed by the advice of those Presbyters, but still under the superintendence of the Apostles and Evangelists. It does not however hence follow, that wherever

God gave men fit for such an office, the Apostles did not set single Bishops over these Presbyters, to take the place of the Apostles, and perform the same duties which these would have themselves performed, if they could have been every where and at all times present with the Churches, or had lived for ever. For what need could there be of other Bishops, so long as the Apostles themselves performed the duties of that office? When however the Churches increased in number throughout the world, and Christians became so numerous, that the Apostles could neither remain always on the same spot, nor visit all the places which required their presence, and which they gladly would have visited, could they possibly have done it, they at last appointed Bishops, to whom they deputed their duties; Titus, for instance, Timotheus, and many others; and this they did by the same divine authority by which they appointed Presbyters. As to the assertion of St. Jerome, that the superiority of Bishops over Pres-

byters rests on human custom, rather than on a really divine institution, I shew that it is inconsistent with truth, from consideration of the time to which he assigns the commencement of the custom. "Before, says he, schisms arose in the Church, by the instigation of the Devil, and before it was said among the nations, I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, Churches were governed by the common advice of the Presbyters, &c." But these schisms arose in the Apostles' own times, and therefore this custom then began, and so the Apostles themselves, for the sake of avoiding schisms, altered the institution of our Lord, which it appears to me very absurd to assert. Our Lord, who is the Wisdom of God, knew assuredly, far better than the Apostles did, what would be useful and necessary for the prevention of schisms: and as it became them not to wish to seem to be wise above measure in this matter, so it did not become them to change an institution of our Lord Himself, on account of the offence of a single Church.

In the next place I must ask, how did St. Jerome know that the Church of Corinth had Presbyters to govern them before the rise of those schisms? It would seem more probable from the Epistles of St. Paul, that it had not as yet any Presbyters of its own. If it be objected, that the institution of Episcopacy happened subsequently to the Apostles' times, and that St. Jerome did not so much refer to the Church of Corinth in particular, as to several others which were torn by schisms, and accordingly did not say "at Corinth," but "among the nations:" I reply, that it is not sufficient for this to be affirmed, it should be proved from history what these schisms were, where and when they arose, and how it came to pass that, in consequence of them, so universal a custom arose as Episcopacy is known to have been. In the first chapter of the Apocalypse we read of the seven angels set over the seven Churches, one of these being the Church of Ephesus, which is known to have before had several Bishops; as also the Church of Philippi, which Bishops

I have shewn to have been only Presbyters. I assert, therefore, that, at the first origin of the Churches, there was a time when they had neither Presbyters nor Bishops besides the Apostles and Evangelists, with their co-adjutors, as was the case in Crete: for the beginnings of all Churches were alike. But shall we therefore say, that the appointment of Presbyters in Churches was not a Divine institution, but merely the result of human custom, and contrary to the institution of our Lord, because Churches governed themselves under the guidance of the Apostles and without Presbyters, but submitted to the control of Presbyters through custom, after they had begun to sink into a state of democracy?

I must further remark, that if this line of argument be admitted as valid, the institution of Deacons might be assailed in the same way, and might also be denied to be a Divine ordinance, since there were at first no Deacons, so long as "the multitude of them who believed were of one heart and of one soul, neither said any of them that ought of the

things which he possessed was his own[a];" but they were appointed only after, by the instigation of the devil, "there arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews[b]," and that, therefore, these were not appointed by Divine appointment, but originated in a human device; a consequence which every one sees to be erroneous. For although the Apostles allege other reasons for this ordination besides the murmuring, yet that murmuring was the immediate cause of their appointment; and I accordingly conclude, that, although we should allow that the first appointment of one Bishop as head over several Presbyters was occasioned by schism, it will not therefore follow that Episcopacy was instituted solely on that account, or was not the appointment of our Lord. The occasion of the appointment of the first Bishop, alleged by St. Jerome, rests on a very uncertain conjecture; nor can any probable reason be adduced in its support, for it would have been a very harsh proceeding, had the

[a] Acts iv. 32. [b] Acts vi. 1.

Apostles set Bishops over all the Churches throughout the whole world, which had been guilty of no offence, on account of the error of one Church, and that too in contravention of our Lord's appointment.

Finally, we do not read that the Presbyters of the Church of Corinth gave rise to the schisms, but that the people did it by pretending to distinguish themselves one from another by the names of the teachers by whom they had severally been instructed in the faith, or baptized; by priding themselves on the excellence of their respective instructors, in the same way as men are well known to do on their ancestry, rank, and many other things, by which human vanity is flattered. The persons from whom the occasion of schism was taken were not at Corinth, and the Presbyters who were thus to be brought under one Bishop, for the prevention of schism, must have been, according to our adversaries' argument, none other than St. Paul himself, Cephas, Apollos, and many others of whom the several parties boasted.

To me, indeed, what St. Jerome adds concerning a regulation decreed throughout the world, appears a vain fancy. When, I should like to know, and by whom, can that regulation have been so made? How could it be so unanimously received contrary to the order of Presbyters made at the first, and agreeably to the will of our Lord? For Bishops have always in all Churches throughout the world been superior to other Presbyters in authority and dignity; and it is not likely that St. Paul would have wished, or had he wished it, would have been able to alter our Lord's appointment. The other Apostles being scattered among other nations were ignorant of what was going on at Corinth, so that they cannot be supposed to have voted in favour of such a change, if made by St. Paul: and, granting that they had been informed of the schisms at Corinth, and had, by some miracle, met together from diverse and most distant parts of the world, who can find satisfactory proof that they agreed on an alteration of our Lord's ap-

pointment for the sake of avoiding such schisms? Much less can it have happened after the Apostles' times, that all the Churches held a council, and agreed on abrogating the order received from the Apostles, and instituted by the Lord. Some of them at least would have retained the primitive institution. Of the antiquity of Episcopacy, St. Jerome himself is witness, not only in the passage in question, but also in his Epistle to Evagrius, in which he writes, "From the time of St. Mark the Evangelist down to that of the Bishops Heraclas and Dionysius, the Presbyters used to appoint one chosen from their own body to be Bishop, just as when an army elects a general," &c. But I would caution the reader against being so misled as to fancy, from these words of St. Jerome, that the Presbyters always raised one of their own body to this higher rank; for there are innumerable instances on record in which the Presbyters were passed by, and Deacons, or even others who did not belong at all to the Ministry, were elected by the people and

Clergy: a circumstance proving evidently, that the Churches were not acquainted with any such decree as has been imagined, nor ever so made it a rule in the election of a Bishop, as always to promote one of the Presbyters themselves to that office. Grant, however, that it was so; grant that the decree imagined by St. Jerome really was made; either it was made contrary to our Lord's institution, and we must allow that all the Fathers and all the Councils have erred, of which no other instance can be found, and which we have shewn to be impossible; or, it was made concerning a thing indifferent in itself, and entirely in the power of those from whom the regulation emanated. And, even in this latter hypothesis, who are we, that we should dare to set at nought a decision, to which the whole Christian world has bowed? I say, therefore, that this opinion of St. Jerome's was his own private opinion, and contrary to the common consent of nearly all the Fathers, whether before his time, or contemporary with him.

St. Jerome, accordingly, being conscious that he lay open to the objection that this was his own opinion, and not the sense of Scripture, endeavours to confirm it by Scripture, citing for the purpose St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, in which he sends greeting to the Bishops and Deacons which are of the Church at Philippi, and the twentieth chapter of the Acts, and the first Epistle to Titus, where Presbyters are styled Bishops: before replying to which quotations it will be worth while to hear what Theodoret says, who thus expounds the passage of St. Paul now in question. "The name of Bishops is here given to Presbyters, for at that time those titles were used indiscriminately of the same office, as is evident from the twentieth chapter of the Acts, and the first chapter of the Epistle to Titus; since St. Paul there joins together Deacons and Bishops, making no mention of Presbyters: in no other way could several Bishops be Pastors of one and the same place, and accordingly the persons whom the Apostle calls Bishops must have

been Presbyters. In fact, in this very Epistle St. Paul calls the blessed Epaphroditus their Apostle[c]. Since then St. Paul calls him an Apostle, he plainly thereby teaches that the Episcopal office had been committed to him." So writes Theodoret.

The error of St. Jerome and of Aerius arose from the lax and common acceptation of the words Presbyter and Bishop then prevalent. But since the same laxity prevailed in the use of the word Apostle, it may justly appear strange, that a mistake should arise in the one case and not in the other: for no one has ever imagined, that because St. Barnabas, Epaphroditus, and many others, are called in Scripture Apostles, that there was therefore no difference between them and the Twelve: yet because the history of the calling of the Twelve, St. Paul and others who were likewise styled Apostles, happens to be better known than the history of those who were indifferently styled Bishops or Presbyters, the distinction between the latter is obscure to

[c] Phil. ii. 25.

men, who are not able to develope facts, of which we find only intimations in the Acts and the Apostolic Epistles; and so it is imagined, that because the titles are the same in certain cases, that therefore there was no distinction between the persons to whom the titles are given. Just as it would be a gross fallacy to conclude, that all who are styled Apostles were on a par with the Twelve, so is it a fallacy to infer the equality of the two Orders of Presbyters, from the application of the term Bishops to both.

It is a common thing for the same word to bear various meanings, and not unfrequently the same term denotes both species and genus; for instance, wickedness, virtue, justice, are used sometimes in a wider, at other times in a narrower, sense. Even so this word Presbyter, in its widest acceptation, denoted all Pastors, so that it is found applied even to the Apostles themselves, but, in a more restricted sense, denoted the lower Order of Pastors. Moreover it happens, that words become ambiguous from their etymology, so

that not only Presbyters but the Apostles also are styled in Scripture Bishops.

A similar use of titles is found in civil matters; the titles of King, Duke, Count, Knight, Esquire, and Baron, for instance, are applied to persons differing greatly one from another in dignity and honour, for it is no novelty for a great King to have many other Kings subject to him, or for Dukes to have under them many other Dukes owing them fealty; and certain Counts, as the Count of Flanders, the Count of the Rhine, and the Count Palatine, are Lords over other Counts. Why need I speak more particularly of Knights, Esquires, and Barons, who though bearing the same titles, differ very widely from one another in power and dignity? Even children would laugh at any one who should attempt to argue that they are all equal, because they all happen to bear the same titles. But, it is replied, the case of the Ministry of the Church is different from that of civil government. I answer, that I am not contrasting offices, but names in respect of

their import, in order to shew the absurdity of arguing an absolute identity of things or persons, from an identity of the words denoting them.

Although therefore writers of great note in our times consider, that the supremacy of one Bishop over other Presbyters ought to be abolished, as a thing which has become prevalent in the Church of Christ, by the practice and choice of men, contrary to the verity of our Lord's institution, the universal consent of all Churches throughout the world, which is moreover consonant with the word of God, weighs more with me than the opinion of the heretic Aerius, or of St. Jerome when misled by an ambiguity of words, and an inaccurate acquaintance with the condition of the primitive Church.

For thus much is clear from the word of God; viz. that, in the time of John the Apostle, the seven Churches of Asia had seven Bishops, set over them by Divine, not by human, appointment; for, since the Holy Ghost does not dissemble wherein either the

Angels themselves of those Churches, or such as were under their government, had sinned, He would certainly not have omitted to blame an innovation, but recently introduced into the Churches, and contrary to the Lord's appointment. Grant that those Churches had each many Presbyters, yet the sins of those Churches are not laid to the charge of a number of Presbyters, or bodies of Presbyters, but the Holy Ghost addresses Himself to the Angel of each; and had not the Angels of those Churches possessed authority for their government above all other persons, they would not alone have been blamed for the neglect of their duty. A certain writer of our day attempts to defend, or at all events to excuse, this heresy, or error if you prefer so to call it; but the reasons by which he attempts to do it are so insulting to the Councils and old Fathers, that I am ashamed of them. Aerius is by him excused, as having been a worthy man, whilst the Fathers are openly accused of pride and tyranny; and since he adduces nothing with even the

appearance of solid reasoning, except that passage of St. Jerome, already quoted and discussed, I shall not touch upon his arguments.

With how much more Christian a spirit, and with how much more modesty, did that most illustrious old man Jerome Zanchy, venerable alike for his piety and for his rare erudition, thus deliver his opinion on this subject! "My faith I rest, first and absolutely, on the word of God; next, and in a considerable degree, on the consent of the whole ancient Catholic Church, if it be not inconsistent with Scripture; for I believe that whatever things, not contradictory to Scripture, were defined and acknowledged by the holy Fathers, although not of equal authority with Scripture, did yet proceed from the Holy Ghost. Hence I neither would, nor with a good conscience could, reject any such their decisions. Now what is more certain, from history, from the Councils, and the writings of all the Fathers, than that those Orders of the Ministry of

which I have spoken were established and received in the Church with the unanimous consent of all Christendom? And who am I that I should disapprove of what the whole Church Catholic has approved, and which even the learned men of our own times have not all dared to condemn, well knowing that the Church had this power, and that these things were all instituted and established piously, and for the best of ends; namely, for the edification of the elect? I have also had occasion to notice those Churches, which, having embraced the Gospel, have yet their Bishops both in reality and in name. Nay, in the Churches of the Protestants themselves, there are in reality Bishops and Archbishops, though the good old Greek names have been badly altered to the Latin titles of Superintendants and Superintendants General. And even where neither the Greek nor these Latin names are used, even there some are chiefs with almost absolute authority. Why should there then be a controversy about names?

If they agree in the thing, why dispute about the term? Meanwhile, as I have not found fault with the Fathers in this matter, so I cannot but love the zeal of those men of our times who abhor those titles from fear, lest with them should return the ambition and tyranny of former times, and these be succeeded by the downfal of the Church."

So writes that venerable old man, Zanchy. I might, if it were necessary, confirm my point, by adducing many other testimonies from writers of our times, who either hold exactly the same opinion with myself, or at least adopt the contrary notion with the greatest caution: for the present, however, lest this tract should extend to too great a length, Zanchy shall stand in the stead of the numbers who are agreed with me hereon.

CHAP. XXIV.

OF ONE BISHOP IN ONE DIOCESE.

Having shewn that that form of Ecclesiastical government has God for its Author, in which Pastors are subject to Pastors, and Presbyters inferior to Bishops; it now remains for us to enquire, whether a single Church or Diocese may or may not have two or more Bishops of equal rank and power.

It is said, the Church at Jerusalem had as Bishops the twelve Apostles and the seventy-two Evangelists, with the Prophets also; and many instances may be adduced in which one Church had two Bishops. Epiphanius too,

when writing against the Arian heresy, and speaking of the Church of Alexandria, seems to intimate, that it was then the custom of many Churches to have two Bishops, since he denies that such was the custom of the Church in question. To this I reply, that the twelve Apostles and the seventy-two Evangelists, with the rest who abode for a while at Jerusalem, were the appointed Teachers and Bishops, not of that one city, but of the whole earth. As to the cases in which one Church had two Bishops at the same time, the election of St. Augustine to be Bishop of Hippo whilst Valerius the Bishop of that See was still living, may serve to shew us under what circumstances such cases occurred, and how rare and extraordinary they were; for the election of St. Augustine was contrary to the decrees of the Council of Nice. There is no law so general but admits of an exception, when there is good reason for it: it is not a sin for one and the same Church to have several Pastors of equal authority, but experience will shew whether

it be expedient or not. In former times, Bishops, when far advanced in years, knowing that no second youth awaited them, and that the day of their death was at hand, used to name their successor, and sometimes admit him as their colleague, with the view of obviating the dissensions which occurred in the election of Bishops; or sometimes when they were prevented by old age, or sickness, from discharging their Episcopal duties, some one was chosen to supply their place, and sit with them on the Episcopal throne. Valerius, Bishop of Hippo, obtained that St. Augustine should be joined with him, and chosen for his successor, during his own lifetime, being induced thereto by the example of some foreign Churches. How reluctantly St. Augustine himself consented to the measure, after long entreaties and the allegation of precedents, is attested by himself, when detailing[a] his objections to the appointment of Eradius to be his own future successor, amid the acclamations and consent of the people,

[a] Epist. cx.

whom he thus addressed; "I know what you know, namely, that Eradius is fit for the Episcopal office, and worthy of it; but I will not have repeated in his case what was done in my own: what that was many of you are well aware: none can be ignorant of it except such as were not then born, or were not yet old enough to know it. Whilst that Father of blessed memory, my aged Bishop Valerius, was yet in the flesh, I was ordained Bishop, and sat on the throne with him, which neither myself nor he knew to have been forbidden by the Council of Nice. What therefore was faulty in my own case, I will not allow to be repeated in that of my son."

So spoke St. Augustine. St. Gregory of Nazianzum writes as follows to St. Gregory of Nyssa, touching this practice. "If any one contend, that whilst one Bishop is alive another must not be elected, let him know, that this in no way concerns us; for it is well known to all men, that I was not made Bishop of Nazianzum, but of the Sosimi,

although out of regard for my father, and those who earnestly requested it of me, I took upon me the care of Nazianzum, but as a stranger."

So wrote St. Gregory of Nazianzum; and it is evident from his words, that it was a rare and extraordinary occurrence for one Church to have two Bishops. Epiphanius mentioned the custom, in order to shew why Athanasius did not immediately succeed Alexander, although the latter had designed him for his successor, namely, because the practice of the Church of Alexandria did not allow of the appointment of a Bishop during the lifetime of another. In fact, both Bishops and people were fully persuaded, that a Church could have but one Bishop at a time: and whenever the contrary happened, it was excused by the necessity of the case, for necessity knows no law.

When Constantius, having, in compliance with the petitions of certain noble matrons, recalled Liberius from exile, desired that he should rule the Church of Rome conjointly

with Felix, who had been appointed in his stead during his exile; the people, on hearing the Emperor's letter read, set it at nought, exclaiming "one God, one Christ, one Bishop." St. Cyprian, speaking of the regularity of the election of Cornelius, says, "Wherever a first admits of no second, whoever is appointed as next to him who ought to be alone, is, in fact, not second to him, but nothing."

St. Ignatius, who lived before St. Cyprian, and is reckoned to have been the second or third Bishop of the Church of Antioch, after the Apostles, writes as follows, when insisting on the unity existing in the gifts of the one God to his Church; "there is one flesh of the Lord Jesus, and one blood which was shed for us; likewise there is one bread which was broken for all, and one cup which was distributed to all; there is one altar for the whole Church, and one Bishop with the college of Presbyters, &c."

The Fathers thus reasoned, because it had seemed good to God that, under the old cove-

nant, there should be but one High Priest, in whose room, so long as he lived, no one could be substituted, unless he had perchance disgraced himself by some foul crime, or had accidentally incurred some unclean disease, or become mutilated in his person, so as to be unable to perform the duties of the Priestly office. And although this regulation contained a sacrament which has no longer place in the Church, the principle which was involved in it, and is separable from it, is not to be made light of by Christians.

If any one object, that, according to this mode of reasoning, the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome over all the Churches of Christ may be defended, he misunderstands me; for there is a vast difference between supremacy over a single nation and region, and one that would extend over all the Churches, however widely scattered throughout the universe. No such primacy over the whole world was given to any of the Apostles. To St. Peter was committed the Gospel of the Circumcision, and to St. Paul that of the Uncircum-

cision, but in such sort that they were not to exclude all others from being their associates and fellow-workers, with the same power as themselves. St. James was the Apostle of the Jews residing in Jerusalem and Judæa: St. Peter of the Jews dispersed among the Gentiles; whilst St. Paul limited his sphere of labour to the Greeks of Asia and Europe, leaving the other parts of the world to the other Apostles. If the Bishop of Rome had contented himself with his own province, no one would have ever accused him of unhallowed usurpation and tyranny. I remark furthermore, that, since the Apostolical traditions concerning the government of the Church and its externals were drawn, first by our Saviour Himself, and afterwards by his Apostles, from the Old Testament, with such modifications as difference of time and place required, no fault can be found with the Fathers if they should appear to have taken certain regulations from the same source. Hence St. Jerome writes thus to Evagrius; " and, that we may know the Apostolical traditions

to have been borrowed from the Old Testament, what Aaron, his sons, and the Levites were in the temple, that do Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons claim to be in the Church."

I assert therefore, that the ordination of one Bishop over each of the dioceses or parishes, which together formed as it were but one state, was right, and that the appointment, in like manner, of one Patriarch, or Archbishop, or Primate, or Metropolitan, (call him which you will,) over the whole people and state, was an institution of the Councils and Ancients, agreeable to the Divine will.

To conclude. From what has now been said concerning the Gospel Ministry as instituted by our Lord, left to the Churches by the Apostles, confirmed by the unanimous consent of the Fathers and Councils and the practice of the universal Church, any one may perceive, that the form of regimen, according to which Presbyters are subject to Bishops as their superiors, and

Bishops to their Patriarchs and Metropolitans, is not a human device, but divine, and instituted by God, under the new as well as under the old covenant.

CHAP. XXV.

CONCERNING THE TITLES OF PATRIARCH, ARCHBISHOP, AND METROPOLITAN.

HAVING now stated my reasons for dissenting in this from men for whom I entertain in other matters great respect, it remains for me to reply to the evil speeches of certain persons, who, disregarding the moderation of the most learned writers of our times, indulge in invectives against the titles and offices of Bishops, Archbishops, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs, reviling them as being vain, proud, antichristian, and unholy inventions. These railers argue, that no mention is made of Patriarchs or Archbishops by St. Paul in the fourth chapter of the Epistle

to the Ephesians, where he enumerates the Orders of Gospel Ministers. But to this it is to be replied, that these offices are there denoted by the titles of Apostles and Evangelists; in the Epistle to the Romans [a], by the word προϊστάμενος, and in the Epistle to the Corinthians [b], by κυβερνήσεις governments, terms signifying Pastors of the highest order. That the offices of Apostles and Evangelists were to be perpetual, has been sufficiently shewn in the former part of this treatise, and is very evident from what immediately follows St. Paul's enumeration of Gospel Ministers, when he adds the purpose for which our Saviour gave to the Church "some Apostles, and some Evangelists," namely, "for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." So long as there shall be the Church to edify, the offices there mentioned must continue to exist; if the Church could have been edified without them, they would not have been instituted. As to the notion,

[a] Rom. xii. 8. [b] 1 Cor. xii. 28.

that some were temporary only and others to be perpetual, it is disproved by consideration of the end, after which the faithful must strive incessantly until the second advent of their Lord; and the fact that they must themselves be edified and built up together into the one mystical body of Christ, by means of these offices. Although the offices of Bishops, Archbishops, Primates, and Patriarchs, be not of the same extent with that of the twelve Apostles, and though the Spirit be not given them in the same measure as it was to those, this is a difference in degree only, not in the thing itself. Those whom we now call Bishops, St. Paul called Apostles, forasmuch as they were, as we have said, associates in the same office and partakers of the same authority with the Twelve. Hence Archbishops and Patriarchs are still every where called Apostolic men.

Let us next look at the reasons and grounds on which these titles are said to be full of haughtiness and empty pride. First it is argued, from the etymology of the words,

the Greek ἀρχὴ and ἄρχων signifying the supremacy and power peculiar to magistrates, and being, it is asserted, inconsistent with the simplicity and humility which the Gospel requires in Pastors. Secondly, it is argued, that the Council of Carthage forbade that any one Bishop should be styled Prince of Bishops. The words of the Canon in question are these: "The Bishop of the first see is not to be called Prince of Bishops, or chief Priest, or any such thing, but simply the Bishop of the first see[c]." Furthermore it is said, that the word Archbishop differs in no respect from the Greek ἀρχιποίμην, that is, Chief Shepherd; which being the peculiar title of Christ, the usurpation of it by man cannot but be sacrilege; and moreover, all such titles ought to be banished from the Christian Church, and utterly abolished: nor is the dispute to be made light of, as being one of

[c] "Ὥστε τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἔξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιουτότροπόν τι ποτὲ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας. Vide Gratian. Distinct. 99.

words merely, since the titles in question are derogatory to Christ's honour. And, finally, it is said, that the faithful must avoid using terms introduced either by Antichrist himself, or by the spirit of Antichrist; that it is certain that these words had Antichrist for their author, and that, therefore, they must be avoided. To all this I answer, first, that, etymologically considered, these titles imply no haughtiness or pride; for the Greek word ἀρχὴ signifies not only power and magisterial dignity, but also the first principle or cause and origin of a thing, and, when used in composition, follows the nature of the term with which it is compounded; so that, since the word Bishop implies nothing proud or haughty, neither will this title of Archbishop imply haughtiness or pride, in whatever acceptation it be used, any more than do the words Architect, Archangel, &c. But I affirm, that this word Archbishop means, not so much the first and Prince of Bishops, as first and chief Bishop. I should not reject the word Prince, if it now meant only the

first and chief, as it properly and originally did mean in Latin; but, since it has become current in a more august sense, denoting one possessed of sovereignty and chief power, I will either wholly refrain from using it, or employ it but sparingly. The same remark holds good respecting ἄρχων, which does not always mean in Greek a magistrate, but the first author and originator of any thing: and as to the word Patriarch, it no more signifies one who possesses power and exercises magisterial authority over others, than does the word Heresiarch, which is the name given to the first author of a heresy, as being its author, not as exercising authority over his followers. Patriarch properly signifies the first parent of a race or nation, and has been metaphorically used to denote an Archbishop, because he is, as it were, the first father among other Bishops, who are also held to be fathers, and to signify that the power which he exercises over them is paternal or regal, not tyrannical. Men, therefore, were called Patriarchs and Archbishops, rather

than Princes of Priests, from motives of modesty, in order that all men might understand them to have no other authority over their brethren and fellow-Bishops, than St. Paul had over Titus and Timotheus, and these, in like manner, had over other Presbyters and Bishops. And thus it appears, that no such title is hereby given to the Bishop of the first see as is forbidden by the Canon of the Council of Carthage; since Patriarch and Archbishop, in their plain and true sense, mean nothing more than first Bishop. If authors who wrote purer Latin than others speak of a Princeps Episcoporum, no one need take offence at it, for, as I just now remarked, the word Princeps is equivalent to *first* and *chief*. Thus St. Ambrose, not to mention others, in his Commentary on Ephes. iv. writes as follows: "In the person of the Bishop are united four Orders, because he is the first Priest, that is to say, the Prince of the Priests, and he is a Prophet, and an Evangelist." As to the assertion, that Archbishop means the same thing as Ἀρχιποίμην in St. Peter, I

am greatly surprised that it should be made by men of learning, and skilled in languages.

Since it appears, from the exposition just now given of the true sense of the terms ἀρχὴ and ἄρχων in composition, that ἀρχιποίμην may mean as well the first Pastor of any place or nation, as the Prince and Lord of Pastors, I do not see why it may not be applied to a man holding the first place among Pastors. It is used in a different sense when applied to Christ, as holding the highest authority over all Pastors, in as much as He is the Lord of all, whether flock or Pastor; and in this sense none of our Archbishops either calls himself, or allows himself to be called, Archbishop. Christ is called the Ἀρχιποίμην in a preeminent sense, whilst the Archbishops of the Church are not so styled absolutely, but Archbishops of this or that See, and they are well known to have suffragan or fellow Bishops throughout the whole of such province, among whom alone he is set as Chief Moderator, and said to be their Archbishop, not Archbishop over all other Bishops absolutely. Since then the

word means nothing more than the first and chief Pastor of some province, it is no more derogatory to the glory of Christ, than are the titles of Pastors and Teachers, given to Presbyters and Bishops; whilst Christ Himself alone is, properly speaking, our Teacher and Master, and our only true and good Shepherd, who gave His life for us. Just as it is no impiety towards God, to call our earthly parents fathers, although God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, is our Father in Heaven. Whoever, knowing that these words have such various significations, and are differently applied to different things, still thus argues, must appear to sport in a matter of the greatest importance, for the sake of a vain display of wit, and to the imminent danger of his reader. If then that be granted which was before shewn, viz. that some Bishops were set over other Bishops and Presbyters as their superiors by Divine appointment, no better words could be found to express the difference between them, after the decease of the Apostles, than the words Patriarch and

Archbishop, nor words which less imply pride, if we will but make exception for the haughtiness and tyranny of those who abuse, or have abused, their authority, and have discharged their office negligently. But some one will here retort, Bishops and Archbishops meddle with secular matters, assume the office of civil magistrates, and are decked with their titles. And who is there, but sees this to be utterly inconsistent with the teaching of the Gospel, and the interpretation of the names you have given them? This question, however, is foreign to our present discussion, nor are we here concerned with it, although I will on a future occasion, and in the proper place, state my opinion upon it[d]. Believe me, candid reader, that I am not here defending such men as are some of the present day, whose station is an object of envy; but I speak of those pious servants of Christ, who in former times ruled the Church to its great benefit, before the

[d] In the end of the three Treatises of which this is the first, entitled, Of the Honour due to Prelates and Presbyters, ch. xx. to xxv. inclusive. [*Trans.*]

tyranny of the See of Rome had overwhelmed the Churches of Christ. St. Gregory of Nazianzum, for instance, St. Gregory of Nyssa, the great St. Basil, St. Athanasius, St. John Chrysostom, St. Cyprian, St. Ignatius, St. Polycarp, Irenæus, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and the like, whose course of life, as it was one unknown to our times, so was it far from exciting envy. I say therefore, that I, for my part, cannot condemn of pride, or of an Antichristian spirit, these Fathers, who, beyond dispute, were Bishops, Archbishops, and Patriarchs, and governed the Churches with some special authority over their brethren. If any one have the gift of discerning spirits, let him use it, only let him beware that it be not the spirit of rash judgment. I, for my part, can perceive in those Fathers no spirit of Antichrist. That they were men and had their errors I know, and yet in the matter now before us, their writings have greater weight with me, than the productions of men living in our time, or within our recollection. First

then, I deny that this title Archbishop is an invention of Antichrist; and, in the next place, I assert, that we are not indiscriminately to reject every thing that has been usurped by Antichrist, or even every thing invented by him, because he must of necessity have invented some things good and true, in order to conceal many things bad and false. Even Satan transforms himself into an angel of light, that he may the more conveniently deceive. He feigns holiness in order to seduce to sin, he assails truth in order to lead into error; for if he openly shewed himself, and taught nothing but what was bad and false, he would not find it an easy matter to deceive any one; nor would his kingdom stand long. Nothing can be more absurd than this mode of argument; Antichrist teaches this, therefore it is false; Antichrist invented this, therefore it is bad; unless it be added or implied, that the thing taught or invented is contrary to the word of God. For instance, St. Peter made a faithful confession of what he had been taught by the Holy

Ghost; viz. that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God. Antichrist confesses the same with his mouth, and condemns the gainsayer to the flames. He receives the holy Scriptures of the word of God, and says that men must pray always; and because the Lord taught that men must pray always, he too divides the day and night into hours of prayer. But, shall we reject fasting and prayer, and the holy Scriptures, and even the confession of the Son of God, because he abuses all these for purposes of superstition[n]? Antichrist sets a high value on a regular Order of Ministers in the Church, and will not have them be least in honour in a

[n] That Saravia did not consider the Bishop of Rome alone, and absolutely Antichrist, is evident from the clause occurring further on in the present chapter, where he speaks of "the Bishop of Rome, or *any other* Antichrist." In the Preface too, the reader will remember that he spoke *specifically* of "the *Roman* Antichrist." Does not this argument seem to rest wholly on the notion, that the Pope is Antichrist? If even however it does, it is still valid, since the persons whom Saravia is refuting were of that opinion. [*Trans.*]

Christian state; and shall we, in order not to be like him, assail the servants of Christ with inventions and insults, and reckon them among the lowest of the people? If men are so foolish, as out of a mere spirit of contradiction, to insist upon rejecting whatever is said or done by the Bishop of Rome, they may as well at once give up Christianity altogether. Whoever then maintains that a thing is to be rejected, merely because the Bishop of Rome was either the author of it, or abused it for purposes of tyranny or superstition, that man seems proof against all right reasoning. The things received in the Church of Rome, such as it now is, may be divided into three heads; some are agreeable to the word of God, some directly opposed to it, and most are things indifferent or of a middle nature, accordingly as they are used or abused. Although bad men abuse good things, those good things do not therefore change their nature. No man in his senses can reject as bad the word of God, Baptism, or any thing else held by Romanists, merely because held

by them. But because no one can ever make a good use of bad things, these must absolutely be rejected, every kind of idolatry, for instance, and whatever subverts sound doctrine. As to things indifferent, since they depend for their character on the character of the person who uses them, we are at liberty to use them according as time or circumstances may require. All are agreed in considering things indifferent to be such as, being neither forbidden nor commanded in the word of God, are left to the option of every man to use or not to use, unless some other consideration arise, whether of time, place, or persons, to limit this use which is otherwise free. I think that they might better be defined thus; viz. as things which are neither forbidden nor commanded by any law, either human or divine, for the use of any thing otherwise free, may, in various ways and for various reasons, be circumscribed by the command of one in authority over us. This subject, however, need not be further discussed at present. I have remarked thus

much, merely that it may be known, that things in themselves indifferent, may be used by us even, though the Bishop of Rome or any other Antichrist have abused them in various ways. The superstition or impiety of others does not diminish our liberty, especially when we have the voice of public authority on our side, commanding or permitting the use of those things, which superstitious and idolatrous men have abused. Wherefore, whenever a question shall arise concerning a thing in use among the Romanists, or any other adversaries of truth, the nature of the thing itself must be considered, not the abuse of it.

In the present day, some people in this country inveigh with great bitterness against the Ministerial habits, caps, ornaments, music, organs, and certain rites of the Anglican Church, contending that they are profane and impious, because they are also used in the Church of Rome: and they do the same concerning Bishops and Archbishops, their possessions, and the rank which they enjoy

in this Christian state; but, unless all these things be proved to be contrary to the word of God, I must maintain that it is no sufficient reason for their abolition, to assert that Antichrist was their author or inventor. The thing indifferent which he has abused for tyrannical ends may be turned to good account, and be made profitable to the community. I am well aware, that this my reply has appeared unsatisfactory to persons who are contentious, and who cherish a deeply-rooted persuasion that Episcopal authority is pernicious to the Church, and I know that they will not accede to what I have said concerning the plain and simple import of words compounded with ἀρχή. Wherefore, although I prefer this most ready interpretation of the title Patriarch and Archbishop, being, as it is, most consistent with humility, I will venture to affirm, that although it were granted that, by virtue of their etymology, they import princely power, it still will not follow that they are not fitting titles for Bishops. For if any one will thus insist on and cavil

about the strict import of words, it will be sinful to style any human being a Monarch, or αὐτοκράτωρ, Autocrat, because these titles, taken according to their strict import, belong to God alone. These words, and all other current expressions like them, must be abolished; and in the next place it will not be right to call the Ministers of the Church ἡγούμενοι, (they that have the rule over us,) or προεστῶτες, (they who are set over us, Prelates;) nay, we shall give up even the word Presbyters, because, in Scripture, this last properly signifies Magistrates, Princes, and the chief nobles of provinces; and the other two mean Generals, or military leaders, and civil governors, no less properly than does the word ἄρχων; and yet they are every where used to denote the Ministers of Churches.

In the last place, if any importance be attached to the authority of the Fathers, let us hear how far they were from rejecting this word Princeps, commonly giving it to Bishops. St. Origen writes thus in reproof of the harsh demeanour of certain Bishops.

"We may see in some cities, and especially in the greatest, Princes of a Christian people devoid of all affability, or imagining that they are no way bound to shew it:" &c. adding afterwards, "I do not say this for the purpose of disparaging or overthrowing the Ecclesiastical Principality;" &c. Thus writes St. Origen on Rom. xiii., a chapter from which we learn, that temporal judges are charged with the fulfilment of a very great part of the law of God: for He has been pleased, that whatever crimes He will have punished, shall be punished not by the rulers and princes of the Church, but by temporal judges. The same Father, in his twenty-second Homily, on Numbers xxvii., speaks thus: "But let the Princes of the Churches learn, that they cannot select their kinsmen or relatives in the flesh for successors in their office, and name them for such in their wills, nor hand down to them their Princely office in the Church as a heirloom," &c. So also St. Ignatius[e]; "*My son,* says the Scripture, *honour God and the King;*

[e] Ep. ad Smyrn. Interpol. 10.

but I say unto you, honour God as the Author and Lord of all things, but your Bishop as the Prince of the Priests, bearing the likeness of God: the likeness of God in that he is a Prince, and the likeness of Christ in that he is a Priest." And again [f], "Whosoever honours the Bishop, shall receive honour of God, and whosoever disregards him, shall be punished of God;" and so on in the same strain. Again he writes [g], "Let all things, therefore, be done among you decently, and in order in Christ. Let the laity be subject to the Deacons, the Deacons to the Presbyters, the Presbyters to the Bishop, and the Bishop to Christ, even as Christ Himself is to his Father." In his Epistle to the Church at Antioch [h], the same Father writes thus: "Ye Presbyters, feed the flock committed to your charge, until God shall shew him who is to rule over you. *For I am now ready to be offered,* that I may gain Christ," &c. In which passages that holy Martyr of Christ

[f] Ibid. 11. [g] Ibid. Interpol. [h] Ad Antiochenses, §. 8. (a spurious Epistle.)

taught the authority of the Bishop over other Presbyters.

In former times, great was the authority of Bishops in the Church, great the reverence shewn them by the laity, and great their influence over it; a thing most useful and necessary to the Church, as much so indeed in the case of Bishops in the Church, as in the influence and popularity of civil magistrates among the people. St. Jerome was right in thinking, that the prosperity of a Church depended on the dignity of its chief Priest. That is not the least of the wily devices of Satan, by which he strives to bring the heads of the Church into contempt, in order to endanger faithful teaching, and cast doubts upon it, so as, if possible, to disturb or overthrow the entire Church: and whoever become his ministers for this purpose, under whatever pretext they may disguise themselves, render the greatest possible disservice not only to the Church, but to the whole State. A schismatic in the Church acts the part of a traitor in the State.

As to the reasons which the adversaries of Episcopacy here in England may have for their exertions to bring it into popular odium, I am not concerned with the soundness or futility of them, since I am not set as judge between the parties; but this I affirm, that what befals the Bishops in England very commonly happens also to the best of the Gospel Ministers in Holland, who labour under as much odium and obloquy as the Bishops do here. The petulancy and impunity with which wicked men there publicly attack in their writings the true servants of Christ, even affixing their names to these attacks, may be seen in those writings themselves. Having myself, whilst living among them, borne no small part of that obloquy; and having still to labour under it, let no one wonder that I am myself indulgent to Bishops; for I know that this is the common lot of all the servants of God, and that it has been Satan's endeavour, from of old, to bring hatred on the rulers of Christ's Church by every possible means,

in order the more easily to bring in all sorts of heresy, after the destruction, or at least the diminution, of their influence: so that though Moses, though St. Peter and St. Paul, were themselves alive amongst us, and as highly valued and honoured as their dignity would demand, yet would they not escape the envious attacks of this sort of men. So long as the authority of Christ's servants remains intact in a Church, the engines of the Devil can effect but very little; when once it has been destroyed they dare do every thing; this needs no lengthened demonstration.

I am compelled then, by the wickedness of our times, to speak rather boldly concerning the rank to which the rulers of the Church are entitled in the State.

That the wicked should not be able to endure that due honour be rendered to Religion, but use their endeavours to destroy it, or prevent its display, is no wonder; but it is the height of absurdity for men so to act who profess to be religious, and who ought

to be the asserters and defenders of Ecclesiastical dignity. I will not listen to complaints about abuses from those whose design is not to remove these, but to utterly destroy the thing itself.

If the rulers of the Church do not adorn their ministry with that purity of morals and innocency of life which their office, reason, and the holiness of Religion require; I by no means object to their being punished by the laws, or to the appointment of better men in their stead: for they are not so exempt from the jurisdiction of the magistrate, as that he may not decide concerning their persons, life, and property, in the same way as of the persons, life, and property of other citizens.

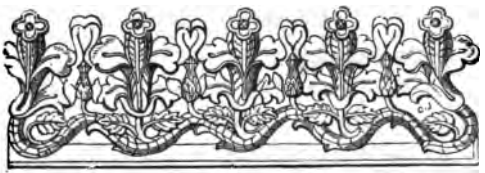
It is the interest of Princes and States, that the best men should have rule over the Churches, and the bad be removed. Whatever opprobrium bad rulers of the Church, either here or elsewhere, may bring upon Religion, disgrace attaches to the supreme civil magistrate who tolerates such ministers

of sacred things, and such rulers of the Church.

The Clergy of the Church of Rome are differently situated: having a peculiar magistracy of their own, and not being subject to the common laws which bind the community in which they live, they are in the State without being part and parcel of it, any further than suits their interests, the civil magistrate believing that he has no right to punish them, nor power to correct any offence of which they may be guilty. If, however, the civil magistrate thinks good to connive at the slanderous outcries now publicly made, I will not complain, provided the accusers find fault only with the offence, not with the order of men who give it: and provided that, whilst faults, in the exercise of sacred functions, are assailed, the dignity of the functions themselves be preserved inviolate, and provided no one be treated with contumely merely because he is a Bishop or a Minister of the Gospel.

I have now said as much as the design

of this treatise at present required, concerning the institution by our Lord, the Apostolic tradition, and the perpetual existence in the Church, of a twofold Order of Presbyters. It remains for me to add a few words concerning Teachers.



CHAP. XXVI.

OF TEACHERS.

It cannot be ascertained from the context of the passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians, where St. Paul has mentioned "Pastors and Teachers," whether he meant two distinct offices, or only one and the same, because a Pastor is necessarily a Teacher, but not contrariwise. The very nature of the case suggests this, for not every one who is blessed by God with learning and the capacity of teaching sound doctrine, is therefore and thereupon invested with the authority of a Pastor; a knowledge of Scripture may be vouchsafed

to any one, and kings, nobles, or knights may be learned men, and yet not therefore competent to have rule in the Church. Although the administration of the Sacraments and government of the Church are combined with the office of teaching, so that none can be a Teacher, without being at the same time a Pastor; yet it is not conversely true, that every one holding the office of Teacher is either a Presbyter or a Bishop of the Church: the two propositions are distinct and not interchangeable. Presbyters and Bishops are chosen from such as are competent to teach. Under the Old Testament, the Priestly office was always conjoined with that of interpreting the Law, but the gift of prophecy and the faculty of interpretation did not confer Priesthood. The Priest was, ex officio, an interpreter of God's Law, and a Teacher, and also a Prophet: but not every Teacher of the law, nor every Prophet, was a Priest. In like manner an Apostle was at once a Prophet, a Teacher, and a Pastor, but not every Prophet or Teacher was an Apostle or a

Pastor. Since then Teachers are distinguished from Pastors, and the knowledge of the mysteries of God, and skill in interpretation thereof, is the gift of the Holy Ghost; as many as excel in this gift and can edify the Church, whether by writing or discourse, are to be reckoned Teachers, whatever be their rank in life. Kings will no more derogate from their dignity by composing pious works for the edification of the people, than did David or Solomon, who were, in their generation, not more illustrious for their power than for their godly wisdom. Although the Apostles have forbidden a woman to speak in the church, yet, if she be learned, she may write, and may in private instruct her own household. If we would have a right understanding of the writings of the Apostles, we must accurately distinguish Teachers from Pastors, the former intermeddling with nothing but teaching and the interpretation of Scripture. Although the Christians had no schools in those earliest times, yet Teachers and Prophets had

authority to speak publicly in the Church, and when they taught sound doctrine, the faithful were bound to obey them no less than their Pastors; but they had neither power for correction nor right of governing. We read that Stephanus, Fortunatus, and Achaicus taught in the Church at Corinth, but they do not appear to have had the authority of Bishops or Presbyters; and it is, accordingly, no wonder that we do not find them to have been empowered to correct the corruptions and immoralities prevalent in that Church; neither is it any blame imputed to them for not correcting them. They were compelled to endure what they might not cure, and to wait for the arrival of St. Paul. One might wonder why, in the Epistle to Titus, St. Paul did not name Zenas, who was learned in the law, and Apollos, who were both in Crete, in conjunction with Titus, and address to them the same injunctions as to Titus, unless it were that they were only Teachers; for he was well aware that they were there with Titus. Had they

held the same rank and authority with him, St. Paul would have addressed the same commands to them. What he ordered might have been more easily done by three individuals than by one; but the Apostle had given the office of teaching to several persons in that island, the power of ruling the Church only to one; and hence it is concluded, that Teachers and Prophets were "helps" to Pastors, and taught under their directions; for it pertains above all things to the office of a Bishop, to teach the Church entrusted to him by himself, and by means of others. There are in the Apostolical writings many similar intimations, from which may be gathered the fundamentals of a Church, and the form of the Apostolic government, which the age immediately succeeding the Apostles handed down to posterity, as having come immediately from the Apostles and Apostolic men. Epiphanius rightly observes, that in the writings of the Apostles, facts, from ignorance of which many have fallen into error, are merely intimated or implied. Such was the practice

agreeably to which Bishops empowered laymen to teach in the Church, a custom referred to by Eusebius[a], when he says of Origen, that before he was ordained Presbyter, he had opened a school at Cæsarea, and was requested by the Bishops there not merely to hold disputations, but also to expound Scripture, and that too in the public congregation of the Church. Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, a rival of Origen, found fault herewith, and grievously complained of it, although he had himself formerly sent the same Origen into Arabia as a teacher of Scripture, and had not disapproved of his acting as Catechist at Alexandria. But a sentiment of jealousy at the rising fame of the erudition of Origen caused him to seek every opportunity of calumniating him, and led him to find fault with those Bishops for allowing a layman to interpret Scripture publicly. Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, Bishop of Cæsarea, answered his complaint in the following words. "As to what you further assert in

[a] Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. c. 13.

your letters, that it is a thing hitherto unheard of, that laymen should dispute or expound Scripture in the presence of Bishops, you appear to me to be herein mistaken. For when men are met with, fit and competent to help the brethren in the word of God, they are (often) requested by the holy Bishops to instruct the people in the word; as Euelpis was requested to do by Neon at Laranda; Paulinus by Celsus at Iconium; and, at Synadi, Theodorus by Atticus; who all were blessed and holy brethren; and we think it probable that the same practice is known elsewhere, although we have not certain knowledge of the fact." Thus Eusebius.

Although the primitive Church had no schools such as we now possess, Alexandria furnishes proof that they were not without schools of some kind or other, for that city produced the teacher Pantæus before Origen, and also Clement of Alexandria. There is no doubt but that the custom in question was derived from the Apostles; for although men are rendered powerful in the Scriptures only

by the gift of the Holy Ghost, this gift is not such as to supersede laborious study and diligence on the part of those who would become versed in them. Among the people of God there were schools of the Prophets, at the head of which we find Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, and many others, nor did other prophets disdain to live under the instruction of these, or to be directed by them. God is never the author of confusion, but of order: men of God were not furious enthusiasts, but of a calm and temperate spirit. Those who in the present day despise schools and similar institutions, are ignorant of the laws of society, whether human or divine, and know not of what importance they are in every thing. It is impossible sufficiently to praise the wisdom of the first founders of Universities, for these are the seminaries of all learning and virtue, without which the refinements of society, and civilization generally, would vanish, and leave mankind to relapse into the wild state of the savages of America. But I need not here digress into an encomium on those institutions.

I merely add this caution, that neither the teachers whom they rear for the Church, nor any others who have by diligent private study and the reading of Scripture become versed in the word of God, should take any thing upon themselves in the Church against the will of its Bishops, for they are but private men, and under the government of these. Should they however be called upon or commanded by the Bishops, in these times, as used to happen formerly, and it be agreeable to the custom of the Church, they may then teach. Academic degrees or testimonials of learning are not to interfere with pastoral authority, or disturb order. The office of Teacher (Doctor) is now seldom conferred except on such as are already Presbyters, neither do I find fault herewith, for it was, after all, a thing of rare occurrence even in primitive times for a layman to teach publicly in the Church. It is a thing to be decided by circumstances of time, place, and urgent exigencies, not by headstrong rashness. Young men, who have earned in the Universities

honourable testimonials of their attainments in learning, are not forthwith to imagine that they are thereby admitted to the rank of Presbyters, unless they be also duly ordained thereto: a caution I should not have imagined to be necessary, had I not known some to err on this point.

There are, in our days, people who contend for the existence of Teachers in the Church, but despise the office of Presbyter, and ordination by the imposition of Episcopal hands. Baptism, the administration of the Lord's Supper, visitation of the sick, burial of the dead, and the service of public prayer, they deem beneath their dignity, seeing that these duties are sometimes committed to unlearned men, and the lower Order of Ministers. Others there are who deem it essential to the reformation that each Church should have one Teacher and one Pastor, as though the latter, who is ex officio a Teacher, could not fill both offices. Many other such notions I shall pass over in silence, as being merely visionary fancies of self-complacent persons,

a class of people for whom I have no great regard. For although I grant that Teachers were once allowed to teach publicly in the Church who yet were not Pastors; I add, that this took place during the Apostles' times, but became subsequently of vary rare occurrence, occurring only in cases of great emergency, or when the interest of the Church absolutely required it. The ordinary Teachers of the Church are the Bishops, nor would there be need of either Presbyters or Deacons, could they, single handed, discharge all its offices. In a small church a single Presbyter will suffice: the diversity of ranks and offices arose from the extent and numbers of churches. If any one wish to see this subject discussed more fully, he may read the writers of our day; for my part, I think I have accomplished the designs of this treatise, which was not to discuss these points at length, but only to state what I would wish to see done in some reformed Churches. I have given an account of the Orders of Christ's Ministers, as they were appointed by our Lord Himself, were

handed down by the Apostles, and maintained by the earliest Fathers and Apostolic men, whose steps I deem it more safe to follow, than to enter on new paths.

THE END.

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